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# SPEECH MONOGRAPHS

VOLUME VI

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NUMBER 1

## GRADUATE THESES — AN INDEX OF GRADUATE WORK IN THE FIELD OF SPEECH—V\*

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### SECTION I

NUMBER V of this series of reports contains a record of 353 degrees granted in the field of Speech. All but ten of these degrees were granted in 1938. The degrees first reported here include 27 Doctors' degrees, 160 Masters' degrees granted with requirement of thesis and 166 Masters' degrees granted without requirement of thesis. The total number of graduate degrees granted students with a major in Speech of which we now have record is 2595. Of this total, 135 have been Doctors' degrees, 1238 have been Masters' degrees in which a thesis was presented as part of the requirement, and 1222 have been Masters' degrees granted without requirement of thesis.

Table I indicates the number of degrees which have been granted by various institutions. The total number of schools now in this list is 32. Institutions whose names appear in these lists for the first time are Alabama, Ohio University, Purdue and Wayne.

Table II contains a list of the degrees of various types tabulated year by year. The percentages for each year of the total number of Masters' and Doctors' degrees granted in Speech have been tabulated separately. This table indicates quite definitely that graduate work in the field of Speech has not only recovered from what appears to be the effects of the depression during the years of 1932 to 1934, but also that it has continued its previous development since that time.

\*The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to administrators of Speech Departments for their cooperation in supplying the information on graduate work reported here.

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Table III contains a general analysis of the subject matter treated in theses when classified according to the six main areas in the field of Speech. The interested reader may compare the percentages of the total number of degrees granted in the several areas, as

TABLE I  
INSTITUTIONAL SOURCES OF DEGREES GRANTED  
(1938 Degrees in Parentheses)

	MASTER'S DEGREES			DOCTORS' DEGREES	COMBINED TOTAL
	WITH THESIS	WITHOUT THESIS	TOTAL		
Akron.....	2		2		2
Alabama.....	(1) 1		1		1
Brooklyn.....	(4) 6		6		6
Carnegie.....	(1) 10		10		10
Columbia—T. C.....	3	(59) 559	562	(4) 12	574
Cornell.....	(13) 88		88	(1) 19	107
Denver.....	(9) 20		20		20
George Washington.....	2		2		2
Grinnell.....	1		1		1
Illinois.....	4		4		4
Iowa.....	(28) 305		305	(7) 35	340
Louisiana.....	(13) 45		45	(4) 8	53
Marquette.....	(3) 19		19		19
Michigan.....		(37) 355	355	(3) 15	370
Minnesota.....	(11) 34	(1) 2	36		36
Missouri.....	2		2		2
New Mexico Normal.....	8		8		8
Northwestern.....	(10) 231	(20) 26	257	3	260
Ohio State.....	(8) 20		20	(1) 2	22
Ohio University.....	(4) 4		4		4
Ohio Wesleyan.....	(1) 26		26		26
Purdue.....	(1) 4		4		4
South Dakota.....	1		1		1
Southern California.....	(2) 145	(44) 155	300	(2) 4	304
Stanford.....	(5) 12		12	1	13
Syracuse.....	5		5	1	6
Utah.....	(2) 14		14		14
Washington, Univ. of.....	(3) 14		14		14
Wayne.....	(10) 17	(5) 5	22		22
Western Reserve.....	1	44	45		45
Wisconsin.....	(15) 188		188	(5) 32	220
Yale.....	(6) 6	76	82	3	85
Grand Totals.....	(150) 1238	(166) 1222	2460	(27) 135	2595

well as the number falling in the various classifications in this list with those in the same areas in previous lists in this series.

Section II contains a list of theses titles classified by institutions, degrees granted, years in which the degrees were granted, and the author's name alphabetically arranged within the year. The titles



are given numbers in sequence with last year's list, beginning with the number 1187 and extending to 1373. Section III contains an index of the titles classified on the basis of the six major academic areas in the field. The titles are listed in the index for more than one area where they appear to be of interest to students of more than one area.

TABLE II  
NUMBER OF DEGREES GRANTED WITH AND WITHOUT THESIS  
TABULATED BY YEAR

YEAR	MASTERS' DEGREES				DOCTORS' DEGREES	
	WITH THESIS	WITHOUT THESIS	TOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL	NUMBER	PERCENT
1902.....	1		1	.04		
1903.....	1		1	.04		
1904.....	1		1	.04		
1906.....	1		1	.04		
1907.....	1		1	.04		
1908.....	3		3	.12		
1909.....	1		1	.04		
1912.....	1		1	.04		
1913.....	1		1	.04		
1917.....	1		1	.04		
1918.....	1	1	2	.08		
1920.....	3	1	4	.16		
1921.....	2		2	.08		
1922.....	7	1	8	.33	1	.74
1923.....	9	3	12	.49		
1924.....	17	6	23	.93		
1925.....	28	16	44	1.79		
1926.....	37	18	55	2.24	3	2.22
1927.....	43	19	62	2.52	1	.74
1928.....	37	25	62	2.52	5	3.70
1929.....	87	40	127	5.16	4	2.96
1930.....	79	66	145	5.89	6	4.44
1931.....	113	53	166	6.75	2	1.48
1932.....	95	101	196	7.97	9	6.67
1933.....	84	128	212	8.62	8	5.93
1934.....	78	153	231	9.39	7	5.19
1935.....	103	113	216	8.78	14	10.37
1936.....	122	142	264	10.73	21	15.56
1937.....	131	170	301	12.24	27	20.00
1938.....	150	166	316	12.85	27	20.00
Totals...	1238	1222	2460	100.00	135	100.00

TABLE III  
THESES CLASSIFIED BY SUBJECT MATTER

		LAST LIST	NEW LIST	TOTAL
Fundamentals.....	Masters'—Number	112	27	139
	Percent	10.40	16.90	11.20
	Doctors'—Number	26	5	31
	Percent	24.10	18.50	23.00
Public Speaking.....	Masters'—Number	177	25	202
	Percent	16.45	15.60	16.30
	Doctors'—Number	35	7	42
	Percent	32.40	26.00	31.10
Reading.....	Masters'—Number	43	8	51
	Percent	3.99	5.00	4.10
	Doctors'—Number		1	1
	Percent		3.70	.70
Dramatics.....	Masters'—Number	446	55	501
	Percent	41.40	34.40	40.50
	Doctors'—Number	19	4	23
	Percent	17.60	14.80	17.00
Speech Defects.....	Masters'—Number	93	13	106
	Percent	8.64	8.10	8.60
	Doctors'—Number	14	3	17
	Percent	12.95	11.10	12.60
Education.....	Masters'—Number	188	32	220
	Percent	17.45	20.00	17.80
	Doctors'—Number	10	7	17
	Percent	10.80	26.00	12.60
Miscellaneous.....	Masters'—Number	19		19
	Percent	1.77		1.50
	Doctors'—Number	4		4
	Percent	3.71		3.00

SECTION II  
TITLES

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA  
1938

*M.A. Thesis*

1187. Dilley, Rita H., A Suggested State Course of Study in Speech for Alabama.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE  
1938

*M.A. Theses*

1188. Cerino, Dorothy V., The Rhetoric and Dialectic of Isidorus of Seville: Translation and Commentary.

1189. Deutsch, Beatrice Diane, Antoine's Theatre Libre and the Conventional Theatre of Paris from 1887 to 1896.
1190. Diamond, Esther, A Comparison of Aphasics', Infants', Stutterers', and Schizophrenics' Speech, and Their Psychological Implications.
1191. Miller, Gertrude, Myerhold and His Place in the Russian Theatre.

## CARNEGIE INSTITUTE

1938

*M.F.A. Thesis*

1192. Crawford, Clayton DeLisle, A Production of *Ralph Roister Doister*, The First English Comedy, by Nicholas Udall.

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Teachers College

1938

*Ph.D. Theses*

1193. Kuhn, Effie Georgine, The Pronunciation of Vowel Sounds, An Evaluation of Practice Material for College Freshmen.
1194. Plugge, Domis Edward, History of Greek Plays—Produced in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936.

*Ed.D. Theses*

1195. Powers, David, A Proposed School of Speech in Fordham University.
1196. Seabury, Lorna Gertrude, The Use of Imagery in the Plays of Maxwell Anderson.

## CORNELL UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1197. Albertini, Ellen R., The Dance and the Drama.
1198. Christian, William Kenneth, Some Theories of Mass Persuasion Held by Ancient and Modern Writers.
1199. Dixon, Dorothy S., Plato's Views of Public Discussion.
1200. Easton, Donald Mack, Use of Ethical and Emotional Proof in Demosthenes' Speech *On The Chersonese*.
1201. Ernst, Earle, Arthur Symons on the Drama and the Theatre.
1202. Foot, Clare M., *Abyss*, An Original Three-Act Play, with an Essay on Play-Writing Principles.
1203. Frees, Octavia K., Elizabethan Stage Presentation.

- 1204. Fried, Esther, Standards of Proof in Contemporary Public Discussion.
- 1205. Gard, Robert E., Dramatic Technique in Relation to the Creation of a Modern Tragedy.
- 1206. McCollom, Wm. G., The Theatre of Maurice Maeterlinck.
- 1207. Miller, Joseph W., An Essay on Play-Making and an Original Long Play, *The Jungle Game*.
- 1208. Schubert, Leland, The Realistic Tendency in the Theatre.
- 1209. von Tornow, Georgiana Josephine, Drama on a Community Basis.

*Ph.D. Theses*

- 1210. Utterback, William Emil, English and American Theory of Public Opinion.

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

1938

*M.A. Theses*

- 1211. Bayless, Buleah, *Independence Rock*, An Original Play Based on the History of the Oregon Trail near Casper, Wyoming.
- 1212. Brown, Frances, *Leap Week*, An Original Play for Speech Personality Development.
- 1213. Gracie, Ruth Sprout, Six Original Monodramas on Pioneer Women of the West with Technic and History of Solodrama.
- 1214. Davis, Helen Grace, A Study of Time Factors in Different Elements of the Most Popular Radio Programs.
- 1215. McCreary, Dorothy, A Translation and Critical Evaluation of *El Poder de la Palabra*, by Homer de Portugal.
- 1216. Senneff, Bessie, An Experiment in the Study of Word Meanings in the Social Relationships of High School Students.
- 1217. Thornton, Helen, An Experiment in the Teaching of Stage Action Through Motion Picture Photography.
- 1218. Wilkinson, Esther Jensen, Disintegrating Background Factors in the Development of Speech Personalities.
- 1219. Wilkinson, Wm. Justus, A Study of Egocentricity and Mental Objectivity in the Conversation of College Students.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

1938

*M.A. Theses*

- 1220. Anderson, Mary Eloise, Producing Director's Study of Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

1221. Arnold, Jean Margaret, Pronunciation Errors by Junior High School Students. Part I.
1222. Ayers, Lemuel DeLos, Stage Settings for E. P. Conkle's *Paul and the Blue Ox*.
1223. Bishop, Nellie M., A Director's Study and Prompt Book of *Francesca da Rimini* by George Boker.
1224. Bissell, Velma L., The Dextrality Quotients of One Hundred High School Students with Regard to Hand Usage.
1225. Bohannon, Dorothy Elizabeth, A Course of Study in Speech for Junior High School Pupils in Joplin, Missouri.
1226. Boomslicer, Paul Colgan, Use of Regional Materials in The Plays of Augustus Thomas.
1227. Braden, Waldo W., A Rhetorical Study of the Cummins-Canon Controversy of 1909 with Special Reference to Persuasive Methods.
1228. Breen, Grace Marie, A Case Study of Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Grade Pupils in University High School, State University of Iowa, as Related to the Development of a Speech Program in These Grades.
1229. Brummer, Delford Frederick, Producing Director's Study of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.
1230. Carlson, Litner Bramer, Project in Design for the Production of *The Wasps* by Aristophanes.
1231. Chenoweth, Eugene Clay, A Study of Factors Influencing the Adjustment of College Freshmen to the Speaking Situation.
1232. Clark, F. Donald, Producing Director's Study of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*.
1233. Dallinger, Carl Arthur, Invention in the Speeches of Charles Sumner, with special reference to the *True Grandeur of Nature*.
1234. Dwyer, Susan Mary, Case Histories of Non-Stuttering Children.
1235. Ettlinger, Betty Carol, A Survey of Phonetic Symbols Used in Current Textbooks of Speech.
1236. Farley, Helen Frances, An Approach to the Enlargement of the Vocabulary of Students in Speech.
1237. Felton, John Garrett, Optimum Level of Illumination for Maximum Visual Efficiency in the Theatre.
1238. Fleischmann, Walter Rhinehold, Stage History and Interpretation of Richard II, a Study in Acting.
1239. Glenny, Mary Jeanette, Discussion of Stuttering in the Cur-

- rent College Texts in Educational Psychology, Child Psychology, and Public Speaking.
1240. Gordan, Mary McKenzie, Actors' Interests and Activities in Other Arts.
1241. Gross, Wilfred Allen, Stage Settings for *The Sunken Bell* by Gerhart Hauptmann.
1242. Henderson, Lois Elizabeth, Pronunciation Drills for College Freshmen, Part V.
1243. Jackman, Gertrude Frances, Pronunciation Errors by Junior High School Students, Part II.
1244. Johnson, Davis Livingstone, An Analysis of the Voice and Articulation Abilities of Students Enrolled in a Required Course in Speech.
1245. Jones, Charles Asa, A Director's Study and Designs for a Production of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*.
1246. Kaiser, Alvin Richard, A Director's Study and Designs for Production of Steele MacKaye's "Hazel Kirke."
1247. Leland, John Philip, A Director's Designs and Prompt Book for James A. Herne's *Shore Acres*.

*Ph.D. Theses*

1248. Bird, Winfred Wylam, An Analysis of the Aims and Practice of the Principal Sponsors of Education by Radio in the United States.
1249. Harrington, Elbert W., The Public Speaking Career of Albert B. Cummins.
1250. Koepp-Baker, Herbert, An Electrical Phonokinesigraph and Its Applications to the Study of Speech.
1251. Park, Marie, Diagnostic Study of Development in Rehearsal and Performance of Students in Dramatic Interpretation.
1252. Temple, William Jameson, The Objective Evaluation of the Effects of Training on the Use of Frequency, Intensity, and Duration in Speech.
1253. Whan, Forest Livings, Invention in the Speeches of Stephen A. Douglas in the 1858 Campaign for the Illinois Senatorship.
1254. Winbigler, Hugh Donald. The Teaching of Dramatic Art in 103 Iowa High Schools.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1255. Darwin, Margaret, The Historical Development of Costume Accessories.



- 1256. Davies, Dorothy Dee, Ibsen and the Classic Unities.
- 1257. Fisher, Hilda Brannon, A Study of the Speech of Jackson, Louisiana, At Three Age Levels.
- 1258. Flowers, Richard, Maxwell Anderson—A Critical Biography.
- 1259. Fluke, Dorothea L., A Study of the Speech of Dutchtown, Louisiana, Using Three Age Levels.
- 1260. Hunt, Elsie, A Study of the Speech of a Haynesville, Louisiana Family.
- 1261. Landmark, Nora, A Study to Determine a Technique for Writing the Radio Play.
- 1262. Lyle, Beverly Bayne, A Detailed Study of the New Orleans Theatre from 1800-1825.
- 1263. Minchew, E. R., Speech Errors Prevalent Among Classroom Teachers in the Public Schools of Louisiana.
- 1264. Orr, Lynn Earl, An Analysis of the Constant Elements in Modern Scene Design with Illustrations.
- 1265. Searles, Charlotte, A Study of the Speech of Minden, Louisiana, at Three Age Levels.
- 1266. Steele, Ralph W., A Study of the Speech of Lake Charles, Louisiana, at Three Age Levels.
- 1267. Wiksell, Milton J., An Analysis of Acting Techniques.

*Ph.D. Theses*

- 1268. Dickey, Dallas C., Seargent Smith Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South.
- 1269. Fenn, Johnnye Akin, The Speech of Haynesville, Louisiana, at Three Age Levels.
- 1270. Ingledve, Grace, A Study of the Speech of Three Generations in One Family and in Like Generations of Three Different Families in Monroe, Louisiana.
- 1271. King, Clifford Anne, The Effectiveness of Group Speaking on the Acquisition of Certain Speech Skills.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

- 1272. Bach, Earl Charles, An Objective Analysis of the Speech Style of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
- 1273. Rodeman, Norbert, *The Barber of Seville*, and an Analysis of Beaumarchais.
- 1274. Schlingman, Maxine, The Contribution of the Travelling Company to the American Theater.

## UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1938

*Ph.D. Theses*

1275. Nichols, Dean G., Pioneer Theatres of Denver, Colorado.  
1276. Westlake, Harold, The Mechanics of Phonation, An X-Ray Study of the Larynx.

*Sc.D. Thesis*

1277. Burt, Mary Helen Meader, Emergent Specificity in the Child as Affected by Interference with the Developmental Process, with Especial Reference to Speech Deviations and Mental Deficiency.

## UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1278. Batchellor, Joseph Donald, A Comparative Study of the Contributions of Steele MacKaye and David Belasco to the American Theatre.  
1279. Dickey, Elizabeth Christine, A Study of American and Mexican Culture and Age Differences in Interpretation of Facial Expressions of the Emotions, and an Analysis of Age Differences in Judgment of Tonal Symbols.  
1280. Jordon, Glenn R., A Study of the Popularity of Detective Drama Produced on the New York Stage from 1899 to 1936.  
1281. Kurtz, Nelda Carolyn, The Biography Play in Modern Drama.  
1282. Lillywhite, Harold, Functions of the Producing Agents in the American Theatre from its Beginnings to the Present.  
1283. Manning, Martha Myrle, The Status of Speech Education in the Public High Schools of Minnesota.  
1284. Pettygrove, Phyllis, An Objective Study of Audience Comprehension of Standardized Silent Reading Test Material when Presented Orally.  
1285. Sailstad, Robert John, A Systematic Analysis of the Responses of Speech Students to Questionnaire Items.  
1286. Steele, Evelyn, A Survey of the Existing National Theatres.  
1287. Warfield, J. W., An Introductory Study of the Training and Background of the American Actor from 1849 to 1875.  
1288. Wolfe, Lenore, A Survey and Analysis of Courses of Study in Speech.

## NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1289. Current, Lucille Mary, A Study of Solomon Henry Clark as a Teacher of Interpretative Speech.
1290. Ehninger, Douglas, A Preliminary Study in the Logic of Discussion Methods.
1291. Hile, Helen, A Check List of Women's Style Trends from 1855-1860 with Patterns to Scale and Fabrics for Their Use on the Stage.
1292. Horn, Robert Mendal, A Compilation and Analysis of Various Types of Intercollegiate Debates and Discussions.
1293. Ingalls, Alice Lockwood, An Analysis of Some Differences in English Errors Made by Students in Hawaii and Mainland United States.
1294. Kerr, Walter F., An Original Play—*Christopher Over Chaos*.
1295. Krass-Kestin, Irwin Harold, The Contributions of Isocrates to the Teaching of Public Speaking.
1296. Lovett, Louise Johnson, The Production of *Jungle Lore*, an Original Play Adapted for Presentation by High School Pupils.
1297. Ostler, Margaret Elluthra, A Translation of the Rhetoric of Gaius Julius Victor, with Introduction and Notes.
1298. Smith, Laura Louise, A Survey of Speech Defective and Behavior Problem Students in Two Elementary Schools.

## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1299. Allen, Stuart Whitman, An Analysis of the Theatrical Art of David Belasco (Determining his Specific Contribution to the Modern Stage of Today).
1300. Capuder, Albert L., Some Vital Factors Involved in Controlling Hostile Audiences.
1301. Drushal, John Garber, The Syllabic Rate of Radio Speakers.
1302. Erb, John David, Is There a Positive Correlation Between Successful Preaching and the Use of Vivid Imagery Word-Concepts?
1303. Hendricks, Richard, Eugene O'Neill and the Psychological Drama.

- 1304. Quirk, Mary Cecelia, The Relation Between Reading Difficulties and Speech Deficiencies, Hearing and Intelligence in Entering Students at the Ohio State University.
- 1305. Robbins, William Ezekial, Louis Jouvét.
- 1306. Warden, Clyde Russell, The Effect of the Absence of Visual Stimuli of a Speaker Upon Audience Attitudes.

*Ph.D. Thesis*

- 1307. Abernathy, Edward Robert, The Auditory Acuity of Feeble Minded Children.

## OHIO UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

- 1308. Flory, Margaret M., An Analysis of the Oratory of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- 1309. Hall, Betty K., A Consideration of Three Dramatic Productions by Grade School Children Motivated by Like Stimuli.
- 1310. Keeseey, Ray, An Experimental Study of Techniques in College Oratory with Special Emphasis on the Emotional Aspects.
- 1311. Kloepper, Ruth M., A Comparison of the Rhetorical Theory of Dale Carnegie with that of Lew Sarett and William Trufant Foster.

## OHIO WESLEYAN

1938

*M.A. Thesis*

- 1312. Murphey, Mildred Crawford, Woodrow Wilson: A Political Speaker.

## PURDUE UNIVERSITY

1932

*M.S. Theses*

- 1313. Mueller, Mary Harriett, An Experiment in the Measurement of the Effectiveness of Oral Reading.

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- 1314. Lyle-Venemann, Elizabeth Marie, An Experimental Evaluation of Certain Functional Criteria of the Effectiveness of Platform Speech.

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- 1315. Hall, Wilbur Eugene, The Effect of Defined Social Stimulus Material Upon the Stability of Attitudes Toward Labor Unions, Capital Punishment, Social Insurance and Negroes.

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1316. Huffman, Elna Stewart, The Construction and Evaluation of a Scale to Measure Attitudes of Stutterers Toward any Social Situation.

## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1317. Bancroft, Christine Hawkings, The Relation of Handedness, Intelligence, and Speech Defects.  
1318. Thomsen, Anne Wrightsman, Original Monodramas Adapted from Biographies Selected by the Institute of Character Research.

*Ph.D. Theses*

1319. Karr, Harrison Manly, An Investigation of the Speech Activities in the High Schools of Los Angeles County, with Special Attention to the Effects of an Integrated Program upon the Aims, Methods and Results of Speech Training.  
1320. Ogg, Helen Loree, A Critique of the Oral and Silent Reading of Poetic Literature.

## STANFORD UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1321. Calmenson, Benita, Survey of Speech Correction in the Public Schools of California.  
1322. Heberer, Henry Miles, A Prompt Book for a Production of *Kind Lady*.  
1323. Potter, Gail, Methodology of the Construction of an Historical Monologue.  
1324. Rother, Harriet, A Study of Methods for Motivating Speech Education.  
1325. Whitaker, Joseph Eric, An Analysis of Current Opinion Relative to the Teaching of Dramatics in the High School.

## UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1326. Howe, Louise Hill, A College Course in Radio Speech.

1327. Plummer, Harry, Determination of Correlation between Oral and Silent Reading Ability of 100 University of Utah Students Selecting a Course in Oral Reading.

## UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1328. Baisler, Perry Emmanuel, The Dysphonias: Their Classification and Causes with Suggested Aids in Diagnosis.  
1329. Buck, Muriel Sproat, Speech Therapy for Children with Congenital Cerebral Palsy.  
1330. Kimball, Merle L., A Study of the Development of Some Theories of Oral Interpretation.

## WAYNE UNIVERSITY

1936

*M.A. Theses*

1331. Foster, Gail M., A Study of Individual Factors Correlating the Quality of Speaking Voices of College Students at Wayne University.  
1332. Freed, Conrad W., A Technique for Recording Classroom Activities.  
1333. Wetherby, Joseph C., A Production of Christopher Marlowe's *Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*.  
1334. Willis, Edgar E., A Preliminary Study of a Technique for Measuring the Relative Teaching Value of the Radio Talk, Radio Drama, and Radio Two-Part Discussion.

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1335. Parks, Merel R., An Experiment in Substituting a Semester of Speech for a Semester of English.  
1336. Simon, Manuel S., A Partial Bibliography in the Field of Speech.  
1337. Wylie, Jeanne E., A Preliminary Study of Vocal Speech and the Effects in Classroom Lecturing.

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1338. Bryant, Edna, Oratory of the United States Indian from 1600 to 1900.



1339. Carmichael, Harriet E., A Comparative Evaluation of Oral and Written Methods of Teaching Tenth Grade English.
1340. Goldstein, Harry, A Radio Adaptation and Production Manual of Stories from *The Arabian Nights*.
1341. Gringle, Agnes Marie, A Radio Vitacast—*Cooley Ten Years Ago and Now*, with Explanations and Directions for its Production.
1342. Irwin, Dorothy June, A Technique for Surveying Speech Opportunities in the Elementary Schools.
1343. Leone, Leonard, The Court Theatres of the Italian Renaissance.
1344. Strong, Homer Dennis, A Comparative Study of Relative Progress in Punctuation, Grammar, and Speech in Certain Courses Taught in Cooley High School During the School Year 1937-1938.
1345. Trudeau, Tressa, The 18th Century Attitude Toward Life in England as Reflected in the Acting of the Period.
1346. Wetherby, Carol V., A Study of Leonid Andreyev and His Symbolic Play *The Life of Man*, with a Production Prompt Book.
1347. Wright, Richard Q., Preliminary Study of Academic Record of Students Enrolled in Speech Courses.

## UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1938

*M.A. Theses*

1348. Baker, Margaret Lounetta, An Experiment in the Use of Radio Dramatization in High School History Classrooms.
1349. Brembeck, Winston, William E. Borah's Speech Style and Motive Appeals.
1350. Howell, William Smiley, The Relative Effectiveness of the Radio Round Table and the Radio Forum.
1351. Long, Theodore S., The Campaign Oratory of William Jennings Bryan.
1352. Page, Gladys M., The Comparison of the Oral and Written Style of Harry Emerson Fosdick.
1353. Penn, John S., The Persuasive Techniques of Benito Mussolini.

- 1354. Seedorf, Evelyn Henriette, The Ethics of the Victorian as Reflected by Four Dramatists of the Victorian Era.
- 1355. Warren, John, An Objective Study of the Possible Effect of the Maxillary Sinuses on the Resonance of the Voice.
- 1356. Wells, Charlotte Gertrude, A Test of Pitch Discrimination.
- 1357. Zimbardo, Edward, The Persuasive Techniques of Harry Emerson Fosdick.

*Ph.M. Theses*

- 1358. Fest, Thorrel B., A Survey of the Status and Trends of Secondary Speech Education in Iowa High Schools.
- 1359. Higgins, Geraldine Faye, The History of College Speech Training in the United States.
- 1360. McKenna, Muriel, A Study of the Development, Present Status, and Performance of the Monologue.
- 1361. Moore, Charles E. A., A Study of the Emotional Effects of Letter Sounds.
- 1362. Schafer, Lucille Elizabeth, Contemporary Religious Drama.

*Ph.D. Theses*

- 1363. Grim, Harriett E., Susan B. Anthony, Exponent of Freedom.
- 1364. Mallory, Louis A., Patrick Henry, Orator of the American Revolution.
- 1365. Nelson, Severina Elaine, The Transmission of Dysphemia (Stuttering) from Parent to Child.
- 1366. Rose, Forrest Hobart, Training in Speech and Changes in Personality.
- 1367. Toussaint, Sylvester Roy, A Study of the Annoying Characteristics and Practices of Public Speakers.

YALE UNIVERSITY

1938

*M.F.A. Theses*

- 1368. Bosley, Stewart, An Original Play, *By the Grace of God*.
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## HENRY WARD BEECHER AND THE ENGLISH PRESS OF 1863\*

LIONEL CROCKER

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HISTORIES of oratory place alongside Demosthenes' triumph over Aeschines in ancient Greece the triumph of Henry Ward Beecher over hostile newspapers and unsympathetic ruling classes in England in 1863. How interesting it would be to study the newspaper editorials on *The Oration on the Crown* if there were such. Fortunately, we do have the newspaper editorials on Beecher's addresses to the mass meetings in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London. To date these editorials have not been explored to discover their attitude toward Beecher and his cause. In some respects Beecher's conquest calls forth more admiration from the student of oratory than the ancient classic. For one thing Beecher was on foreign soil, away from all those who might be sympathetic to him because of past associations. And for another, Beecher had a press that was, with few exceptions, hostile to the North, and, finally, Beecher was not defending himself but his country.

The attitude of most of the newspapers of oligarchic England in 1863 towards Henry Ward Beecher and his cause will be made clear if the lines of current thought in 1863 are reviewed. The primary cause of the war, as we know, was slavery; the secondary cause was Union. Lincoln in prosecuting the war thought it best to emphasize the political cause rather than the moral. In America, this emphasis fooled no one, but in England the ruling classes, which were more familiar with European than with American policies, believed that the cause of the war was political. On the other hand the masses of British people who had relations in America were informed through letters of the true situation. And there were men like John Bright, Richard Cobden, Forster, Goldwin Smith, Leslie Stephen, and the Duke of Argyll, who understood the conflict, who helped the unenfranchised masses to proclaim their sympathy with freedom across the Atlantic. But to men like Palmerston, Gladstone, and Russell the political cause was not sufficient to coerce the South-

\*The materials for this study were gathered in England in 1937. The newspaper materials are bound and are deposited in the libraries at Denison University and the University of Michigan.



ern states into staying within the Union. In fact, Palmerston had recognized the South as belligerents in 1861, and Gladstone in 1862 had indiscreetly declared that Jefferson Davis had "made a nation."<sup>1</sup>

The ruling class and their newspapers were happy to be Southern in their sympathies for several reasons. Democracy was distasteful; if it succeeded in America there was no telling what would happen in England and in Europe. Liberalism in England was growing and Tories were frightened. The effective blockade of Southern ports had crippled the factories of Lancashire. The North was disliked as a jealous commercial rival and as a bitter opponent of free trade. In short, official England thought it would be better for the Empire if the growing Republic were severed.

Then, too, there were overt acts which gave excuse for siding with the South. The Trent Affair was a plain violation of international law. The North had been slow to recognize its mistake and only when Palmerston hurried troops to Canada was the fault acknowledged. Another source of irritation was the warships that had been and were being built on the Mersey for the South. For two years the Alabama had preyed upon Northern commerce, and in the summer of 1863 two more ships were being built to join the Alabama. Official England and their newspapers found reasons for sympathizing with the South.

On the other hand the working classes knowing the South stood for slavery had no way of letting their will be known. For as George Trevelyan<sup>2</sup> points out, the statesmen and journalists reflected none of the thought of the lower classes.

In England the upper ranks of society sympathized generally with the South, and the lower with the North. Since, however, the Northern sympathisers were not then enfranchised, the Southern sympathisers were vocal and important out of proportion to their numbers. Journalists and statesmen were not then obliged to appeal to the working-class opinion, and they made England appear more "Southern" than she really was.

In September, 1862, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. From that time on Southern sympathy in England dwindled for it forced Southern sympathisers into a pro-slavery party. But official England and the newspapers were still strongly pro-Southern

<sup>1</sup> *The Weekly Express*, Manchester, October 11, 1862 declared, "If estimated by their relative influence on the issues of the contest we think Mr. Gladstone's words will outweigh Mr. Lincoln's policy."

<sup>2</sup> *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1930), 331.

in 1863 when Beecher gave his addresses as will be shown in the analysis which follows.

How did Beecher happen to speak in England? Realizing that the newspapers were closed to their cause, the Washington government tried to reach the common people through the lecture platform to crystallize public opinion. Beecher was not the first American to go to England on such a mission. Archbishop John Joseph Hughes, Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine, and Thurlow Weed were a few of those who went to England to conciliate public opinion after the Trent Affair. Incidentally, these gentlemen did not raise a ripple in the press. Lincoln believed that the platform was an effective avenue to the mind of the common people. A letter<sup>3</sup> sent on by Charles Sumner to John Bright in April, 1863, contained a set of resolutions against human slavery drawn up by Lincoln which he hoped to see adopted by English audiences for their effect on official England. There is no record of Lincoln's requesting Beecher to go to England. In fact, Beecher declared that he was not "requested, either by President Lincoln nor by any member of the Cabinet, to act in behalf of the government; it was purely a personal arrangement." This is not strange, for during the early years of the war Beecher was a harsh critic of Lincoln on account of his delay in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. We may be sure, however, that Lincoln was interested in Beecher's decision to go to England. Beecher was easily the most important anti-slavery orator in the North. One can readily believe that Lincoln said, after the English addresses, that if anyone were to raise the flag at Fort Sumter that man would be Henry Ward Beecher. It will be remembered that Beecher was officially invited to give the address at Fort Sumter on April 14th, 1865.

Newspaper accounts show that the active Emancipation Society in England was partly responsible for the suggestion that Beecher visit England. An item in the *Liverpool Journal*, October 24th, 1863 commends Mr. John Patterson, a tireless worker in the society, for his part in inviting Beecher to speak in England. When it was decided that Beecher should go, Plymouth Church, true to its leadership in the cause of anti-slavery, agreed to underwrite all the expenses of its pastor for four months abroad. This gave Beecher financial independence which reacted in his favor, especially in Scotland.

Early in June, 1863, Beecher in company with Dr. John Raymond, President of Vassar College, sailed for Liverpool. After some

<sup>3</sup> George Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (1914), 303.

preaching and addressing temperance meetings, for some reason Beecher felt it untimely to proceed with any extensive speaking on behalf of the North. Beecher's refusal to take the platform in June is of interest to the student of oratory, for it is an excellent illustration of the oratorical instinct for timing. After seeing the lay of the land and being unattracted by it, Beecher and Dr. John Raymond departed for the Continent.

The military successes of July at Vicksburg and Gettysburg began to change the attitude of official England; the success of the Southern cause from July on appeared daily more unlikely. In delaying his speaking in England, Beecher may have reasoned that it would do no good to show the state of the opinion of the masses if official England had its mind made up to recognize the South. He may have thought that it would be better to wait and to take a chance that military success by Northern armies might make official England waver.

On returning to England toward the end of the summer, Beecher was informed by the leaders of the Emancipation Society that a series of meetings was being planned to win the unvoting masses over to the side of the South so that they would be agreeable to the policy of official England. The committee said to Beecher, "If you will lecture for us you will head off this movement." The campaign was mapped out and it was finally agreed that there would be five huge mass meetings in the following cities: Manchester on October 9th, Glasgow on October 13th, Edinburgh on October 14th, Liverpool on October 16th, and London on October 20th.

Winds favorable to the Northern cause were blowing when Beecher took the platform. The Northern victories may have operated on Lord John Russell's mind so that it was easier for him to justify himself in secretly ordering the Laird steam rams to be retained in the Mersey on September 4th.<sup>4</sup> This order was unpopular with the ruling classes and consequently with the newspapers, which will be seen in some of the excerpts which follow.

Why did the masses turn out to hear Beecher? For one thing the Beecher name was well and favorably known in England. The first Beecher to visit England was Lyman, Henry Ward's father, who went to London in 1846 to attend the meetings of the Christian Alliance. He breakfasted with Dr. Thomas Chalmers in Edinburgh,

<sup>4</sup> For the diplomatic history of the retention of the steam rams see Brooks Adams, *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, XLV, 243.

preached at "Cannon Mills," and delivered an address before the "Scottish Temperance League." In London, he met Baptist Noel who was one of the great preachers of the day and who became one of the chief supporters of Henry Ward in 1863. Lyman Beecher preached to an immense crowd at Covent Garden Theatre on Temperance, thus making the Beecher name known to thousands.

Henry Ward visited England for the first time in 1850 and fell in love with the land of his ancestors. His essays on England appearing in *The Independent* on his return and called *Star Papers* glow with enthusiasm. The English addresses of 1863 echo this interest and respect.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was famous in England. In 1853, after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she went to England where she was received by admiring multitudes. In 1856, midsummer, Mrs. Stowe returned to England to secure an English copyright for *Dred*. On this occasion, Mrs. Stowe was invited to dine with the King and Queen at Windsor Castle. Again, in 1859, Mrs. Stowe visited England. Her *Reply to the Affection and Christian Address*<sup>5</sup> was widely read there, and while it did not make Henry Ward's reception any easier, it helped to make the Beecher name better known in England. So well known was Harriet Beecher Stowe that Henry Ward was once introduced as Mr. Beecher Stowe. It was inevitable that Henry Ward should be linked with his sister as in *The Daily Courier* of Liverpool for October 17, 1863. "He had been advertised largely, puffed enormously, patted on the back lustily. He lives in the fame of his sister's novel, beside which appear two or three pigmy tracts of his own." The prejudice of the *North British Daily Mail* for October 15, 1863 appears when it comments on Henry Ward's relation to Harriet Beecher Stowe. "His being the brother of a lady who exhausted her originality in writing one interesting, exaggerated story is Mr. Beecher's chief claim to notoriety on this side of the Atlantic." This statement about Beecher's publications is not true

<sup>5</sup> *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, October 16 declared, "Any man coming to any part of this country as an advocate of the abolition of slavery is a welcome visitor on a superfluous errand . . . As we said when Mr. Beecher's sister issued her 'Reply' we say again when he has made his that, if among the multitude who deplore and condemn the war, there are a few who tolerate or palliate slavery, ninety-nine out of a hundred of that multitude entertain for that system no feeling but the most entire abhorrence, and no wish but for its extirpation by the best mode available, all modes being held lawful."

for Beecher's sermons had been published in England since 1850 by Mr. James Clarke, a religious book publisher.

Compilations of Beecher's thoughts from his sermons sold well. Publishers of his books took the opportunity to advertise them during his visit of 1863. These newspaper advertisements are found in the newspapers alongside the reports of his English addresses. Such expressions as "Beecher's name has become a household word" . . . "Thousands of our readers have read and rejoiced in Henry Ward Beecher's 'Life Thoughts' and they will eagerly buy this companion volume." Of "Life Thoughts" which had sold forty thousand copies, the advertisement said, "They are pregnant with celestial fire—rich in suggestive and original thought." The Beecher name was well known in England and the *Glasgow Examiner*, October 19, 1863, truthfully says of Henry Ward, "There are few men belonging to America who have been more prominently before the public on this side of the Atlantic than the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher."

The Anti-Slavery Society conducted their campaign with Beecher as the main attraction with such success that he drew enormous crowds in the five cities. *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 10, declared, "The Hall was extremely crowded and there were probably 6,000 persons present." *The Glasgow Examiner*, October 17, reported, "The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher visited Glasgow on Tuesday evening and addressed a crowded meeting in the City Hall on American affairs." *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, October 15, stated, "The meeting was one of the most crowded ever held in Edinburgh." *The Liverpool Chronicle*, October 17, related, "The meeting was called for half past seven o'clock. The doors were open at seven, and very shortly afterwards the building was packed from floor to ceiling." But these crowds were as nothing compared to the London meeting where Beecher rode in on the back of a policeman. *The London Times*, October 21, especially hostile in its attitude, declared, "Very soon after 6 o'clock the body of the hall and the galleries were filled to their utmost capacity, and outside in the Strand and Burleigh street a crowd sufficient gathered to have filled the hall over and over again."

What did the newspapers make of these crowds? As might be expected the unfriendly papers<sup>6</sup> spoke condescendingly of the masses

<sup>6</sup> In examining the newspapers we find that they may be classified into two groups: Friendly and Unfriendly. Sometimes a newspaper was both



who listened. Since the enthusiasm of the masses for Beecher and his cause was a fact that newspapers<sup>7</sup> could not explain away, the newspapers set out to belittle the character of the crowds. *The Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 10, states, "Mr. Beecher is a popular orator with a certain class of people, whether he holds forth in the pulpit or on the platform. . . . In our city, at all events, a congregation of people can be convened for almost any purpose; and if the principal orator is a celebrity, he may calculate upon cheers following vigorous cheers following vigorous language as certainly as fate." In *The Evening Standard*, London, October 21, there is this appraisal, "It would have been difficult to have collected together a similar lot of people with so few persons possessing any claim to notability." *The Evening Standard*, October 21, further declares, "The favour shown to such a man as Mr. Beecher depends chiefly upon the fact that the working classes of England enjoy richly a good bit of fun." What the newspapers said about the undistinguished character of the audiences was for the most part true but the newspapers pointed out the fact with the intention of detracting

friendly and unfriendly. In such cases the newspaper has been listed in both columns. A glance at the two columns will show how greatly the unfriendly newspapers outnumber the friendly ones.

#### Friendly

- |                                  |                         |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Manchester Examiner and Times | 4. Liverpool Journal    |
| 2. Glasgow Examiner              | 5. Liverpool Daily Post |
| 3. Glasgow Daily Herald          | 6. London Daily News    |

#### Unfriendly

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Manchester and Lancashire General Advertiser | 10. The Liverpool Journal         |
| 2. Manchester Weekly Express                    | 11. The Liverpool Albion          |
| 3. Manchester Guardian                          | 12. The Liverpool Daily Courier   |
| 4. Glasgow Daily Herald                         | 13. The Liverpool Daily Mail      |
| 5. North British Daily Mail                     | 14. The London Times              |
| 6. Glasgow Gazette                              | 15. The London Morning Advertiser |
| 7. Glasgow Examiner                             | 16. The London Evening Standard   |
| 8. The Edinburgh Scotsman                       | 17. The London Morning Post       |
| 9. The Courant                                  | 18. The London Daily Telegraph    |

<sup>7</sup> *The Manchester Courier*, October 24, however, deprecated the enthusiastic receptions. "It is rather too much to be coolly told on the spot, by a local journal of Northern proclivities that 'he has met with an enthusiastic reception wherever he has spoken.' We entirely believe with the modest historiographer of Mr. Beecher's reception here that 'this is something to tell them when he gets home;' but the illusion is one in which the writer will wrap no man of common observation on this side of the Atlantic."



from Beecher's prestige. In Brooklyn, on his return, when Beecher was giving an account of his addresses, he quoted from a letter in *The New York Times* to the effect that the writer did not remember the name of one distinguished person who gave him countenance and support in England. Beecher admitted the truth of the observation and then made the point that the masses were for the North but that most of the ruling class was for the South.

A letter which is characteristic of the attitude of the upper ranks of society toward Beecher and his cause and which was widely quoted in the press is the refusal of the Rector of Liverpool, Dr. Augustus Campbell, to invite his congregation to attend the Liverpool meeting at Philharmonic Hall.

Childwall, October 10, 1863

MR. ROBERT TRIMBLE

SIR:

In reply to your letter requesting me to inform my congregation that Mr. H. W. Beecher will "deliver a lecture in the Philharmonic Hall on the American war and Emancipation," I beg to inform you that I decline to invite my congregation to attend a lecture on that species of "emancipation" which Lord Brougham, in my opinion justly calls "a hollow pretext designed to promote a slave insurrection." I return you the platform ticket you have sent me, not intending to attend the lecture, being of the opinion that persons professing to be ministers of a merciful God, "the author of peace and lover of concord" might be better employed than in advocating a fratricidal war, accompanied by atrocities which, as Lord Brougham says again, "Christian times have seen nothing to equal, and at which the world stands aghast almost to incredulity."

Your obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS CAMPBELL  
Rector of Liverpool

Not content with absenting themselves from Beecher's addresses the merchant princes sent apprentices to break up the meetings. The press records protests of individuals through letters to the editors at the unfairness. One writer to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, October 19, says, "The reception of Henry Ward Beecher in Manchester and Liverpool has been a disgrace to this country. *You* boast of English fair play, and contrast this freedom *here* with that of *America*. Yet in two of the largest towns in England they are afraid to hear a man speak and that man, too, a stranger. You are pleased to discourse eloquently of mob-law in America." To this the editor replied, "We are not aware that the most ardent of the rev. gentleman's admirers could complain of his reception here. In Liver-

pool, Southern sympathisers certainly exceeded proper limits in expressing their antipathy to Mr. Beecher."

In American textbooks on public speaking, *The Liverpool Address* is cited as an example of persuasion before a hostile audience.<sup>8</sup> Particularly is the tact and humor of Beecher drawn to the attention of students. In 1872, when Beecher delivered his *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, he gave utterance to an observation on public speaking that must have been partially, at least, the outcome of his experience in handling the turbulent audiences in England in 1863. "Young gentlemen," he said, "the great art of managing a congregation lies in this, be good-natured yourself, and keep them good-natured, and they then will not need any managing."<sup>9</sup> In his own account of his preparation for the Manchester speech, he declared, "I was never more self-possessed and never in more perfect good temper."<sup>10</sup>

Most of the newspapers regardless of their sympathies recognized in Beecher the supreme orator. Credit is generously given him for his ability to manage the unruly audiences. The somewhat long quotation which follows will serve to illustrate the manner in which the public speaking situation was described by the newspapers. This is taken from the *Liverpool Chronicle*, October 17.

The first appearance in Liverpool last night of Henry Ward Beecher drew an immense concourse of people to the Philharmonic-Hall, at a rough guess, we should say that there could not have been less than 2500 persons present. In all probability his powers as a speaker were never so seriously taxed as in the address which he gave last evening. This town may be regarded as the headquarters of the Southern party, and this party availing themselves of adventitious circumstances to push their cause—for which in a legitimate way we are far from blaming them—had representatives at the meeting who would have disgraced the best cause in the world. One of the noblest characteristics of the Englishman is to hear both sides of the question, but from the commencement of the lecture to its close, the interruptions were simply disgraceful. Mr. Beecher had a cold, and in straining his voice occasionally to fill the vast area, it sometimes degenerated into a falsetto. The malcontents availed themselves of this defect to mimic his manner, which caused, of course, a good deal of laughter, without for a moment impairing the temper of the speaker. In fact, we must give Mr. Beecher the credit of being the best tempered lecturer to whom we have listened. He has an ample store of quiet American humour, which he frequently brought into play to the discomfiture of his assailants, and when there was a lull in the storm, his retorts restored good humour

<sup>8</sup> See Lionel Crocker, *Henry Ward Beecher's Speaking Art* (Revell, N. Y., 1938), Ch. VI.

<sup>9</sup> *Yale Lectures* (1st ser.), 256.

<sup>10</sup> *Patriotic Addresses*, 643.

and to some extent good feeling; but some persons, nevertheless, in a way that demanded the attention of the police . . . We saw some of the most eminent men in the town, by no means enthusiasts in favour of Mr. Beecher, nor perhaps agreeing with all that he uttered last evening, in direct and hostile antagonism with several young blackguards, apparently clerks in merchant's offices, who appeared determined that the lecturer should not be heard at all. Strange enough, the very day that witnessed the appearance in Liverpool of Mr. Beecher witnessed also the debut amongst us of Mr. Bèresford Hopes, who delivered a long speech yesterday morning at the rooms of the Southern Club in Brown's buildings, in favour of the South. In the evening yesterday, the friends of the South dined at the same place, and all the speakers gave expression to sentiments the very reverse of those entertained by Mr. Beecher, without, of course, meeting with any interruption or annoyance. In the annals of Liverpool, the 16th of October is likely to become memorable for it witnessed on our soil a wordy warfare for and against the Washington Government which is altogether without precedent.

The prophecy of this commentator contained in the last sentence is fulfilled for Beecher's good humor and tact in his struggle with his audience has become a permanent part of the literature of oratory. *The Daily Courier*, Liverpool, October 17, declared, "Mr. Beecher displayed great tact and discretion." *The Daily Post*, Liverpool, October 17, praised Beecher's tact, "Without regard to the merits or demerits of his views, the greatest credit is due to Mr. Beecher for the tact, wholly devoid of reservation or flattery, with which he managed to say his say." Beecher's skill in managing an audience is praised by *The London Daily News*, October 21, "Mr. Beecher, besides being a practiced and powerful speaker, is evidently skilled in the management of large audiences, and by a happy mixture of sterling sense, good humour and downright earnestness, combined with a happy talent for effective retort in carrying his entire audience, foes as well as friends, along with him."<sup>11</sup>

Another aspect of Beecher's oratorical ability that was admired was his command over the English language. *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 22, quotes from Beecher and compares the passage with Biblical prose. Interestingly enough this is the same passage which Oliver Wendell Holmes singles out for commendation in his article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1864 on "Our Minister Plenipotentiary." Oliver Wendell Holmes asks, "When have Englishmen listened to nobler words, fuller of the true

<sup>11</sup> See also *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 22, *The Glasgow Examiner*, October 17, *The Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 24, *The Morning Advertiser*, London, October 15.

soul of eloquence?" It may be that Oliver Wendell Holmes saw the Manchester paper or it may be that two literary men recognized excellence in the same bit of the best that Beecher ever uttered, which is similar in its rhythmical beauty to the peroration of his address on Lincoln.

Now and then when Mr. Beecher's muscular Christianity developed its startling outlines, reminding us rather unpleasantly of wars waged in old times against the cursed Amalekites, or when he trod rather roughly upon some corn of British sentiment, a few hisses might be heard; but on the whole, the appeal was triumphant. Mr. Beecher carried his whole case, the war, with all its appurtenances, chances, passions, and possible calamities. The tocsin never sounded with shriller note. "Standing by my cradle, standing by my hearth, standing by the altar of the church, standing by all the places that mark the name and memory of heroic men who poured their blood and lives for principle, I declare that in twenty years of war we will sacrifice everything we have for principle . . . Our determination is firm and invincible—deep as the sea, firm as the mountains, but calm as the heavens above us,—to fight this war through, at all hazards, and at every cost."

It would be too much to expect that all newspapers would praise Beecher's platform ability. The bias of the *London Evening Standard*, October 21, was so strong that the prejudiced pen drew the following distorted portrait.

Five minutes later Mr. Beecher arrived, and was received with a good deal of shouting. Sitting down on the right hand of the chair the audience had an opportunity of seeing the much puffed "War Christian." He is a stout man of middle height, with grizzled hair thrown back over his ears. His face is a bad copy of Daniel Webster's, but coarse, hard, and heavy. His forehead might command the respect of a physiognomist, but for the eyes which seem to fear to look straight forward. With his black trousers, black satin waist coat, black frock coat, black silk stock, and Yankee fashioned turned down collar, it would be impossible to say he looked a gentleman. Nor when he began to speak was the impression relieved. His voice is harsh, and the slight Yankee twang does not improve it. His attitude in the early part of his oration, and as he read from copious notes, was ungraceful. He stood with his head rather down, arms crossed at the wrist, and white handkerchief in hand, everything but coming up to one's notions of the orator of whom we have been told so much. Occasionally as he warmed to his work a gleam of intelligence would dart across his face; but one could not with an approach to truth call the countenance intellectual . . . But his clap trap just suited his audience, which patiently bore more sneers at England than we could have believed possible in an English crowd. Now and then there was a furore of enthusiasm, hats and handkerchiefs being waved; but whenever shouts died away there was a strong substratum of hissing, which only did not prevail in the nature of things because a hiss is not as loud as a cheer.

This caricature of Beecher is the exception rather than the rule in the newspaper accounts of his platform ability.

Failing to find an opening for attack on Beecher in his platform ability, the less biased newspapers turned to other angles. To an Englishman an obvious vulnerability in a preacher is his speaking on politics. Beecher's conception of the preacher's mission in society was not that of the English newspapers. The clergy in England do not mix in politics. Beecher's title of *Reverend* was usually italicized to indicate that the title was misapplied as in the *London Evening Standard*, October 22. By the *Glasgow Gazette* of October 17 Beecher was called "The Drum Ecclesiastic." *The Glasgow Examiner*, October 17, expresses the opinion of the English press on this anomaly of a preacher in politics. "A man of this politico-theological turn, is somewhat of a novelty to us. We are unaccustomed to preacher-politicians. If Mr. Spurgeon were to devote an evening a week to enlightening the public mind on political matters, he would very soon be told to mind his own business, and many people would say he had a 'bee in his bonnet,' but in an American we seem to regard this sort of thing as all right; and fail to see anything out of place or incongruous in it." *The Evening Standard*, London, October 22, could not think of Beecher as a minister of the Gospel. "Society in America may be rather loose in its thinking as to what constitutes or does not constitute a minister of the Gospel; it is difficult to understand how Mr. Beecher can have claimed such a rank even here."

Closely associated with this attack on Beecher is the "shock" suffered by the press by Beecher's references to religious matters. In this matter of irreverence it is possible to point out Beecher's attempt to adapt himself to the tastes of his audience, another evidence of Beecher's skill in public speaking. Consciousness of the fact that he was addressing a foreign audience is seen in his description of his preparation for the Manchester speech.<sup>12</sup>

I went to my hotel, and when the day came on which I was to make my first speech, I struck out the notes of my speech in the morning; and then came up a kind of horror—I don't know whether I can do anything with an English audience. I have never had any experience with an English audience. My American ways, which are all well enough with Americans, may utterly fail here, and a failure in the cause of my country now and here is horrible beyond conception to me.

<sup>12</sup> *Patriotic Addresses*, 642.



At Glasgow he "shocked" the press by his offenses against things religious. *The North British Daily Mail*, October 15, exclaimed, "Mr. Beecher is 'reverend' by courtesy, but verily, he is not reverent" in commenting on his statement "every man who struck a blow on the iron that was to go into those ships struck God in the face." *The Morning Advertiser*, London, October 9, was offended by mixing "worldly and sordid feelings with the names of God and religion." Such newspaper criticism had a chastening effect on Beecher for *The Watchman*, Liverpool, October 17, notes, "His oratory is improving by his stay among us, and if he will permit us to remark, by becoming less American. The Manchester speech has fewer offenses against taste and reverent feeling than the Glasgow speech in which he declared it as one of the 'Divine Decrees' that 'the Union shall stand for God and Liberty.'"

Having shown that the newspapers mingled praise with sneers in commenting on the public speaking ability of Beecher, having shown the contempt of the press toward the audiences gathered to hear Beecher, and having shown the *ad hominem* arguments employed by the press in attacking Beecher, it will be interesting next to turn to the reaction of the newspapers to his speech materials. One of the alleged reasons why the newspapers were not in favor of the Northern cause in the war was the fear that the Negro would not be treated as well in the North under freedom as he was in the South under slavery. The sophistry of this position almost makes one believe in Hawthorne's opinion that "John Bull cared nothing for or against slavery, except as it gave him vantage ground on which to parade his own virtue and sneer at our iniquity." *The Manchester Guardian*, October 14, thought that Beecher answered the racial question in an unsatisfactory manner. "An inquiry fraught with still more damaging effect to Mr. Beecher's philanthropic oratory remained to be put, 'Are the free blacks in the Northern states treated as free men and citizens in each state, and if not will the Southern slaves, if set free, be treated as such?'" Mr. Beecher answered that the Negroes preferring a warm climate would emigrate to the South after the war and therefore the North would not have a problem. *The Manchester Guardian*, October 14, scoffed at the answer. The editorial went on to show the restrictions against the Negro that were in force in the various states. A correspondent to *The Manchester Guardian*, October 20, wanted to know from Beecher if coloured people were free to attend his church. To this question another



"Traveller," a friend of Beecher, replied that he had seen members of the "sable race" in attendance at Beecher's church. More than this, the correspondent pointed out that Beecher had been called a "nigger worshipper" by Gordon Bennett of *The New York Herald*. But the newspapers would not be satisfied that the Negroes would be better off under freedom than under slavery.

A second point of disagreement between the newspapers and Beecher was on the question of reunion between the North and South. Before the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 the newspapers expressed the belief that since the war was not for the abolition of slavery but for reunion there was some possibility of reunion. Before 1863 if the South had only given up the idea of seceding she would have been received with open arms by the North and slavery would have gone on as before. After the proclamation was issued, however, the newspapers<sup>13</sup> declared that nothing could prevent a fight to the bitter end and the South would eventually win its independence. *The Manchester Courier*, October 24, expresses this point of view. "If we may pay any attention to the bluster of the Divine (Henry Ward Beecher) the North are determined to be the Conquerors, even if the victory should be purchased at the expense of twenty years. It would be madness in any man to predict what the issues of this civil strife will be, but one thing is placed beyond doubt, the South will never again be joined to the North. The line of demarcation that has been drawn is a broad indelible line of blood."

A third point of difference was the cause of the war. As has been indicated the official classes and the newspapers did not see beyond Lincoln's words that the Union was the only cause of the war, that if he, as he declared to Horace Greeley, could not preserve the Union with slavery he would do away with slavery. This point of difference is expressed by many newspapers but nowhere more clearly than in *The Daily Courier*, Liverpool, October 17.

To reiterate that the North went to war against the South in order to secure the emancipation of the slave is to persist in propagating a falsehood. Mr. Lincoln's "Chicago Platform" proclaimed that the "peculiar institution" of the South should be maintained inviolate. When Congress passed a decree that a clause confirmatory of the rights of owners over their slaves should be added

<sup>13</sup> Other newspapers expressing this point of view were *The North British Daily Mail*, October 15, *The Morning Advertiser*, London, October 15, *Liverpool Daily Courier*, October 16, *Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 17, *North British Daily Mail*, October 23, *Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 24.

to the constitution Mr. Lincoln gave his cordial consent. When the brave resistance of the South shook to its center the power of the North, Mr. Lincoln, who, we suppose, represents the feelings of those who elected him offered to buy the slaves of the loyal owners, and then he undertook to transport the negroes to Cuba or Central America, or to that region to which Mr. Beecher consigns the South. Even the Emancipation Proclamation was confessedly issued "as a necessity of war," not from principle . . . Earl Russell said that the emancipation of the slaves as undertaken by the North, was a mere pretext. Lord Brougham thought Northern professions of love for the Negro were hypocrisy . . . Mr. Beecher attributes the war to the attack upon Fort Sumter. He thinks he can persuade thoughtful and observant Englishmen that had not Sumter been attacked there would not have been a war. The war was caused by the iniquitous financial system under which the West as well as the South paid a tribute of eleven millions annually to abolitionist manufacturers. It was caused by a violation of the constitution respecting the territories and by the avowed intention of the Northerners to subvert state rights. The question of slavery is but partly a cause of the disruption.<sup>14</sup>

Against the background of Lincoln's policies prompted by political expediency Beecher had an almost impossible task of explaining that slavery was the real cause of the war.

A fourth point which the newspapers<sup>15</sup> debated with Beecher was the right of the South to secede. In 1861, Lord Palmerston had recognized the Southerners as belligerents. The North insisted on treating the Southerners as rebels destitute of any legal rights. *The North British Daily Mail*, October 15, reprinted an extract from a speech made by Lincoln in 1848. The extract is taken from *The Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, p. 94, January 12, 1848.

Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power, have the right to use up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is the right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit; more than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose their movements. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own Revo-

<sup>14</sup> Other newspapers attempting to show that Beecher was wrong in his analysis were *North British Daily Mail*, October 15, *Glasgow Examiner*, October 17.

<sup>15</sup> The right to secede is argued by *The Glasgow Examiner*, October 17; *The Morning Post*, London, October 16.

lution. It is a quality of revolution not to go by old lines or old laws; but to break up both and make new ones.

The newspapers would apply this principle to the Southerners. Incidentally, this quotation shows the knowledge that informed Britishers had of political documents of the United States. *The Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 24, after discussing the causes of the war as set forth by Beecher declared:

The question lies deeper than Mr. Beecher has gone, or any rate chosen to go. It lies deeper than in the mere manner of secession, or the comparative merits of Northern and Southern institutions. It lies in the inherent right which every people, numerous enough and powerful enough to hold their own, have, by the very first principle of Republicanism, to choose under what sort of government they shall live. If Mr. Beecher admits this principle he ought to have shown how it can be reconciled with an attempt to prevent the South from doing what this principle concedes their right to do. If he denies this principle he ought to have shown what right the American colonies had to act when they revolted from the British Government.

*The Liverpool Chronicle*, October 31,<sup>16</sup> reprinted a jingle from *Punch* which expresses the thought that the South had the right to secede along with other points of difference between Beecher and the newspapers.

Alas! What a pity it is, Parson Beecher  
 That you came not at once when Secession broke out,  
 As Abraham Lincoln's Apostle, a preacher  
 Of the Union; a gospel which Englishmen doubt;  
 For that Union, you see,  
 Was a limb of our tree  
 Its own branches to break themselves off are as free.

Still, Beecher, if you had been only sent hither,  
 When at first the Palmetto flag flouted the sky,  
 Commissioned foul slavery's faction to wither,  
 And this nation invoke to be Freedom's ally,  
 With your eloquent art  
 You had won England's heart,  
 We were fully disposed toward taking your part.

Instead of a Reverend Beecher, appealing  
 To our conscience, in Liberty's name, for the right,  
 We heard a cool scoundrel advise in the stealing  
 Of Britannia's domains, North and South to unite;  
 And your papers were full  
 Of abuse of John Bull;  
 Whilst he bore the blockade which withheld cotton wool.

<sup>16</sup> Also published in *The Liverpool Mail*, October 31.

Malevolence, taking our ill-will for granted  
 Has reviled us, pursued us with bluster and threat,  
 Supposing itself the remembrance had planted  
 In our bosom of wrongs which we couldn't forget.  
 And should take in its case  
 Of misfortune as base  
 A revenge as itself would have taken in our place.

Tirades against England with menace of slaughter  
 Never yet have your Sumners, and such ceased to pour,  
 Your bards talk of blowing us out of the water,  
 And threaten to "punish John Bull at his door."  
 Now this isn't the way  
 To make Englishmen pray  
 That the Yankees may finish by winning the way.

The fifth controversial point was the constitutional question. In giving an account of his English speeches Beecher<sup>17</sup> declared that the questions asked him in Glasgow which pertained to slavery and the Constitution were the shrewdest of all that he encountered in England. David Macrae so stated his question that Beecher was put in a serious dilemma. No answer that he could give would be satisfactory; a failure to answer directly the implications of the dilemma was regarded as hedging. Macrae's question was quoted so many times in newspapers wherever Beecher spoke that it is worth repeating in full. David Macrae asked the question at the Glasgow meeting and then sent a letter to the *North British Mail* for October 15th, 1863.

Is the North fighting for this Constitution, or is she fighting for a new one? If she is fighting for this one, she cannot be fighting (as Mr. Beecher says she is fighting) for the total and immediate overthrow of the slave system, which this Constitution guarantees. And if she is fighting for the Constitution in general but arrogates to herself the right of throwing overboard the clause that forbids emancipation, where is her right to make war upon the South for doing the like by throwing overboard any clause that may forbid secession? If on the other hand, the North is not fighting for this slavery protecting Constitution, but for a new one, what right has she to force the South under it—under a Constitution (that is) by which the South never has, and never would have consented to abide?

Such a strictly legalistic interpretation of the Civil War would not be satisfied with any answer that could be given, and therefore the

<sup>17</sup> *Patriotic Addresses*, 646.

hostile press<sup>18</sup> gloried in annoying Beecher and his cause with a discussion of it.

A sixth point out of which newspapers made capital was the retention of the steam rams in the Mersey. In the midst of the Manchester speech on October 9th, a telegram was read by the chairman relative to the seizure and detention by the Government by order of Lord John Russell of the rams prepared for the Southerners at Liverpool. The effect of the telegram was startling. The audience of five thousand rose to their feet, while cheer after cheer echoed through the hall. Such was the effect of the seizure on the masses but most of the newspapers denounced this action of Lord Russell.<sup>19</sup>

*The Evening Standard*, London, October 12, declared that Lord Russell was not consistent in telling the Scotch farmers at Blairgowrie that "We will not yield a jot of British law, or British right in consequence of the menaces of any foreign power," and in his detention of the iron rams. The paper goes on to say, "We can well imagine the disdain with which Lord Russell would have treated this demand if it had been made by any one of the minor powers." *The Liverpool Mail*, October 31, stated, "Six hundred honest and industrious British artisans were on Thursday last (October 29) turned adrift from the two famous steam rams at Birkenhead at the arbitrary, insolent, and utterly illogical bidding of Lord John Russell." *The Liverpool Mail*, October 24, tried to make out that the rams had not been built for the South. "We firmly believe that they are not and never were constructed and equipped for the Confederate States."

A seventh issue between the newspapers and Beecher was Beecher's interpretation of the Trent Affair. Beecher laid himself open to attack when he declared, "Yet it was in the hour of our

<sup>18</sup> *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, October 16; *The Liverpool Mail*, October 17; *Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 14; *Glasgow Examiner*, October 17; *North British Daily Mail*, October 15.

<sup>19</sup> *The Albion*, Liverpool, October 12, stood alone in agreeing with Lord Russell's action. "Good faith and good sense have triumphed at last! The iron-clad rams laid under embargo: they are to be detained in the Mersey until the time for their doing any possible service shall have passed; and President Lincoln's cabinet has already received, by anticipation, the news of this striking display of England's neutrality."

This matter is discussed in *North British Daily Mail*, October 15, *Liverpool Journal*, October 10, *Glasgow Gazette*, October 24, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 31.

mortal anguish, that when, by an unauthorized act, one of the captains of our navy seized a British ship for which our Government instantly offered all reparation, that a British army was hurried to Canada." The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 17, promptly pointed out the inaccuracy. "Mr. Beecher's fervour is equalled only by his inaccuracy. He declared, for instance, that the Washington Government was perfectly ready to give up the Southern Commissioners, and that it was therefore ungenerous for us to have threatened the United States with war in the time of her trial. Mr. Beecher carefully forgot that the Commissioners were detained prisoners until the news arrived in New York of the despatch of the guards, that more than one member of the Washington cabinet declared that the North would never surrender the prisoners, and that Wilkes was the hero of the day, and publicly feted and thanked for his bravery." The *Manchester Courier*, October 24, remembered Beecher's words at the time of the Trent Affair.

The man who talked of "extermination" so unctuously and who threatened that the best blood of England should flow to atone for the insult offered to America in the Trent Affair, as he did on his own soil, and who, when taxed with it in this country, attempted to explain it away with an amount of Jesuitism that was an insult to the understanding of his hearers, must not expect to be dealt with very tenderly, the more especially when that man happens to be a minister of the gospel of peace.

Beecher's remarks on the Trent Affair which appeared in the *New York Independent* were used on the posters in Liverpool announcing Beecher's lecture. The poster concluded with the invitation, "Let Englishmen see that he gets the welcome he deserves."

Historians agree that the Trent Affair was potentially one of the most dangerous in the relations between England and the United States during the war. As might be expected newspapers<sup>20</sup> attacked with vigor Beecher's account of an act that was bitterly resented by the English people. The *North British Daily Mail*, October 15, scorns Beecher's reasoning. "Mr. Beecher seems to think that when Commodore Wilkes insulted the English flag in the Trent Affair, Great Britain ought to have pocketed the affront and that whenever

<sup>20</sup> Other newspapers commenting upon the Trent Affair are as follows: *Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 14; *Glasgow Gazette*, October 17; *The Albion*, Liverpool, October 12; *The Daily Courier*, Liverpool, October 16; *The Liverpool Mail*, October 17; *The Daily News*, London, October 19.



she may happen to get her toes trodden upon by the Federal States in the course of their war with the Confederates, she ought 'forbearingly' to be not in the least offended, because the Federals at present suffer pain, and are in great perplexity. Comical reasoning this!" *The Daily News*, London, October 19, a paper somewhat friendly to Beecher, could not forgive his account of the Trent Affair:

He might have done much more if he had been duly careful to speak accurately on one matter at least which he might have been certain that his hearers understood. Some of his statements on the Trent Affair were so wide of the mark, that he ought not be surprised if the influence respecting other matters which he understands better than Englishmen do, is impaired in proportion. Commodore Wilke's act was applauded by multitudes of citizens in every Northern state; and the leading men everywhere shared his responsibility by loading him with honours for his deed. The government in Washington did *not* instantly retreat on discovering the nature of the act, but, on the contrary, kept silence, and allowed the general mistake to prevail until the latest moment. And there was no undue haste, nor selfish jealousy on the part of England, in at once protecting the freedom of the seas, violated by an error which if committed by another maritime power, would have been treated in the same way. If Mr. Beecher had more carefully informed himself on the case of the Trent, he could not have ventured such a statement of it before a British audience. In regard to American topics there is every disposition to hear him, and to be thankful for the light which he is so well able to afford, and which is so much needed in certain departments of our society.

An eighth point of contention raised by the newspapers was the value of democracy.<sup>21</sup> Although John Bright and Richard Cobden wanted to see the North triumph because it represented the cause of democracy, the cause of the laboring man, there were those in England who would like to have seen the North defeated. In the following excerpt from a long editorial on the failure of democratic government in the United States one can not but feel that the writer is desperately trying to bolster up his belief in government by hereditary classes. In *The Evening Standard* of London for October 14, we find the following strange outburst.

When the English partisans of Mr. Lincoln appeal to our sympathies on behalf of their transatlantic clients, and bid us bewail the fall of the Union, as irreparable loss to freedom and to humanity, we are compelled to ask what the United States has ever done for liberty or for human welfare that freedom

<sup>21</sup> An interesting book which shows the then current thought on Democracy in England is *Victorian Critics of Democracy*: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Stephen, Maine, Lecky. (B. E. Lippincott, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1938).

and philanthropists should lament over their disruption . . . They have shown that democracy is the quickest and surest road to ruin that a nation can take, that in flinging off the yoke of ancient tradition and hereditary loyalty men are, in fact, cutting away the anchor and unshipping the rudder of the state, and reducing the risk of shipwreck to a certainty.

Wishful thinking characterizes the entire editorial. The newspapers representing the ruling class had seen the writing on the wall but wished not to believe its portent. Not much of a prophet was *The Glasgow Herald*, December 7, which proclaimed, "If Mr. Beecher lives to see universal suffrage triumph in England he will probably be the oldest patriarch since the flood." As we know the enfranchisement of the masses began after Palmerston's death and the modern era of democracy in England began.

What value did the newspapers place upon Beecher's efforts? Some newspapers felt that his speeches were a waste of energy; others found some merit in them. *The Glasgow Herald*, usually friendly, October 22, quotes the hostile *London Times*.

The Times in a leader on this subject, says all this is entirely useless for the purpose of obtaining the good will of the English people. The mind of this country is made up. In three years it has had time to fix itself so as to be wholly unchangeable and the opinion of the nation is that Mr. Beecher's section of the late Union is waging a war of injustice, under the influence of an ambition with which the world in general has no reason to sympathise.

*The North British Daily Mail*, Glasgow, October 23, discounts Beecher's efforts. "As a justification of the North's attempt to subdue the South, Mr. Beecher's Exeter Hall speech was a ridiculous failure." *The London Evening Standard*, October 22, speaks disparagingly of Beecher's accomplishments.

We do not wish to speak too severely of this intrusive stranger to convert us to a bad cause. There is hardly a sentence in his speech which does not affirm or imply a positive untruth. It is not by such bungling as this that the people of Great Britain can be persuaded to extend the right hand of fellowship to such cruel, and ignorant zealots as Abraham Lincoln, and his crew of lawyers, contractors, stump orators, and dissenting preachers.

The newspapers that were not too blinded by prejudice placed an estimate on these speeches that accords with that which history has placed on this episode. According to *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 22, Beecher was successful in making plain the position of the North.

Cool spectators at a distance may well be at a loss to understand it (the Civil War) but they will be at a loss no longer when they have once heard

or read<sup>22</sup> Mr. Beecher. One of his speeches clears up the whole problem. It enables us to infer the inexorable hold which the war must have gained upon the determination of his countrymen when it has fired him a minister of religion, with sentiments so absolute.

And *The London Daily News*, a friendly paper, October 19, likewise believes that Beecher's speeches have helped in dispelling ignorance as to the aims of the conflict.

Mr. Beecher's addresses have unquestionably been of great use in clearing up mistakes, enlightening ignorance, and directing good sympathies to right objects. He has broken or blunted some of the weapons of the enemies of his cause, and has given sound reasons to many waverers for giving play to their instinctive sympathies with the enterprise of the North.

On October 21, *The London Daily News* goes further than this generality and declares that Beecher had helped to show that the sympathies of the average Englishman are with the North. What the following editorial proclaims as a result of Beecher's speeches, Beecher and the Emancipation Society had set up as English addresses, and if an orator accomplishes what he sets out to accomplish, has he not his reward?

Almost every day's experience confirms in a number of unobtrusive ways the truth of Lord Russell's recent statement that in the American conflict the sympathies of the majority of Englishmen are with the North. We have never seen any reason to doubt the correctness of this representation. All along while sympathy with the South has been fashionable—the feeling of a section of the upper classes and their imitators in other ranks—sympathy with the North has in the truest sense been popular. If any fresh illustration of this were needed it is supplied in the most substantial and convincing form by such a meeting as that at Exeter Hall last night.

In summarizing Beecher's series of speeches *The Glasgow Daily Herald*, October 24, finds that the South deserves less sympathy and the North more.

It is now time to review the series and ask ourselves what Mr. Beecher has succeeded in doing. He has done a great deal to show that the Southern leaders deserve less praise, and that Mr. Lincoln's Government deserve less blame than they have got. He has done much to allay the feelings of animosity which have unfortunately arisen within the last three years between the people

<sup>22</sup> Every one of Beecher's speeches was reported in full in all the leading newspapers in the five cities. Usually the editorials which form the basis of this study were placed in juxtaposition to the reported speeches. With the speeches taking five columns of small print and the editorials taking a column and a half, the importance which the newspapers placed on these speeches is apparent.

of Great Britain and the people of the North, and to show that, of all the nations on the face of the earth, these two are the most natural allies—bound together as they are by a thousand ties of blood, language, religion, history, mutual interest and common principles of civil political liberty.

Could any orator ask more of his efforts? Such sentiments as these appearing in the press would be bound to exert influence among thoughtful people on behalf of the Northern cause.

The immediate effect on the reputation of Beecher in America of these speeches was nothing short of sensational. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that these speeches lifted Beecher "from a position of one of the most popular preachers and lecturers to that of one of the most popular men in the country."<sup>23</sup> Two large receptions were arranged for Beecher in Brooklyn and New York at which a dollar apiece admission was charged and the receipts were given to the Sanitary Commission, the Red Cross of that day. In this same article, Oliver Wendell Holmes declared, "After a few months absence he returns to America having finished a more remarkable embassy than any envoy who has represented us in Europe since Franklin pleaded the cause of the young Republic at the Court of Versailles." Lincoln, as has been said, invited Beecher to give the Ft. Sumter address on the strength of his speeches in England.<sup>24</sup> Lyman Beecher Stowe,<sup>25</sup> a grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, reports an interesting opinion of Robert E. Lee on the value of these speeches. "Twenty-five years ago I met Justice Roger A. Pryor of the Supreme Court of New York State, who had been in his youth on the staff of General Robert E. Lee. He told me that it had been the opinion of General Lee and the members of his staff that had it not been for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Henry Ward Beecher's speeches in the British Isles the Confederacy would have secured the recognition of Great Britain and France with all that would have meant to them in both moral and material aid."

Historians, on the other hand, after seventy-five years are inclined to discount any direct effect of Beecher's speeches. Professor E. D. Adams<sup>26</sup> says the danger was passed when these speeches were given.

<sup>23</sup> "Our Minister Plenipotentiary," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1864).

<sup>24</sup> Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln, A New Portrait* (1931), 106.

<sup>25</sup> *Saints, Sinners and Beechers* (Indianapolis, 1934), 293.

<sup>26</sup> E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, II, 184.

I have not dwelt upon Beecher's tour of England and Scotland in 1863 because its influence in "winning England" seems to me absurdly over-estimated. He was a gifted public orator who knew how to "handle" audiences, but the majority in each audience was friendly to him, and there was no such "crisis of opinion" in 1863 as has frequently been stated in order to exalt Beecher's services.

It is true that the crisis of the Trent Affair had passed; it is true that the Emancipation Proclamation had put sympathizers with the South in the embarrassing position of being pro-slavery; it is true that the seizure of the rams was officially ordered on September 4th, and it is true, as Professor Adams has pointed out, that most of Beecher's audience was for him. This last observation, however, is of no little importance. To show that the masses were for Beecher and his cause was exactly what Beecher and the Emancipation Society wanted. We must remember in evaluating the effect of Beecher's speeches that Lord John Russell's action in stopping the building of the rams was taken without the consent of Parliament and that the newspapers predicted that this action would be censured by Parliament when it convened. However, between the time of the stopping of the work on the rams and the convening of Parliament something happened to head off any action by Parliament. What was it? It is only fair to conclude that the mass meetings of Beecher had something to do with the rising feeling of friendliness toward the North. Beecher's mass meetings had shown the temper of the unvoting millions and had shown the impossibility of forcing these folk into the support of the Southern states. It is not too much to say that Beecher was one of the many forces operating to produce the change in sentiment noted by Charles Francis Adams in his letter to W. H. Seward of November 6th, 1863. "I am rather hopeful of a better final result than I was in the Spring. There has been a marked alteration in the tone of the leading newspapers which will not fail to produce its effect on the class which they reach."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Letters of Charles Francis Adams to W. H. Seward*, Archives, Washington, D. C.

## CHARLES BUTLER ON MEMORY

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CHARLES BUTLER (*d.* 1647, philologist and author of "The Feminine Monarchie")<sup>1</sup> included in his *Oratoriae Libri Duo*, London, 1629, a chapter on memory which may be taken as typical of the best that was being done at the time in English scholarship in the field of rhetoric. This particular chapter has seemed worth reproduction rather than some other part of the book, because the subject of memory is less thoroughly dealt with in critical works on the period and the field, and particularly because of Butler's contribution of the interesting index. It is also a more substantial treatment of the subject than is found in other works by contemporary Englishmen. Thomas Vicars' *Manductio ad Artem Rhetoricam* of 1621 has only two pages on memory, and Thomas Farnaby's *Index Rhetoricus* of 1625 has nothing.

The chapter consists of a short half page of "text" in large type, and eight and a half pages of notes in smaller type. The "text" is the bare outline of the treatment, with index letters for the thirteen details to which the notes refer. The notes contain Butler's commentary on these thirteen details and reference to and quotation from classical and more recent authors. Nearly two thirds is direct quotation, with spot references for every passage except one. The last three pages carry the commentary beyond the thirteen details of the text, yet quite in the same manner.

This plan of text and commentary, widely used at the time, had been directly borrowed by Butler from *Audomari Talaei Rhetorica . . . e P. Rami . . . Praelectionibus Observata*, which he had edited in 1597 (or 1593?)<sup>2</sup> as *Rameae Rhetoricae Libri Duo*. In 1598 he had published *Rhetoricae Libri Duo*, a revision of the same work without Ramus's name on the title page. Further extensive revisions and additions of 1600, 1618, and 1629, made the *Rhetorica* substantially Butler's own work. The *Oratoriae Libri Duo*, which first ap-

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rameae rhetoricae libri duo, in usum scholarum* (Oxford, 1597). The epistle is dated 1593. The book is not listed in the *Short Title Catalogue* and was not until recently listed in the *Catalogue of Printed Books* of the British Museum, where the only copy I know of is to be found.



peared bound up with the *Rhetorica* of 1629,<sup>3</sup> also has many signs of originality about it. Parts of it appear to be derivative, including a considerable portion of the chapter on memory.<sup>4</sup> But it is highly probable that most of the compilation of material and all of the independent comment, and specifically everything on memory after note (n), is Butler's original contribution. In any case the chapter is indicative of a state of learning and a habit of thought of the period.

The principal earlier discussion of memory by an English rhetorician is to be found in a section near the end of the third book of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1553. About the same length in pages as Butler's chapter, it is quite different in arrangement and tone. There is no evidence of direct borrowing, even where the material is the same in both. Both have a passage on the location of the sense of memory in the "hinder part" of the head, undoubtedly from the same ultimate source, but in Butler with a specific citation from Sennertus, who was born twenty years after Wilson's book was published. The division into natural and artificial memory, and some other material, both got, by translation<sup>5</sup> and quotation, from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Three of Wilson's five examples of great memories are in Butler, in a quotation from Quintilian. Butler does not have Wilson's examples of bad memories. Butler's prescription of "physical health, good digestion, and a mind free from cares" is not so detailed as Wilson's, "Now the best meane both to amende an evill memorie, and to preserve a good, is first to keepe a diet, and eschewe surfites, to sleepe moderatly, to accompanie with women rarely, and last of all to exercise the witte with cunning, of many thinges without booke, and ever to be occupied

<sup>3</sup> The title page of the 1629 edition in the British Museum includes both the *Rhetorica* and the *Oratoria*, but the volume does not actually include the latter work. The *Short Title Catalogue* does not list the first, 1629, edition of the *Oratoriae Libri Duo*, but there are copies extant, including one in the Huntington Library. The Bodleian has editions of 1633, 1635, 1642, and 1645.

<sup>4</sup> I have not found an obvious source in what continental works I have been able to consult; there is none in any work published in England. Butler's originality is made manifest not only in the development of successive editions of the *Rhetorica*, but also in his best known work, *The Feminine Monarchie*, of 1609, and in his *English Grammar*, 1633, printed in phonetic characters of his devising. He also wrote on music and on marriage.

<sup>5</sup> As pointed out by Russell H. Wagner, "Wilson and His Sources," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XV (1929), 535-36.

with one thing or other."<sup>6</sup> And so also in the passages on artificial memory, more than half of the whole in Wilson, the similarity is only in the general plan, the story of Simonides and the use of places and images, and not at all in the detail of treatment. Butler is scholarly and comparatively thorough, with citation of sources and abundant quotation; Wilson borrows without acknowledgment, haphazardly, and mixes in stories from direct observation or fabricated examples. Butler is serious; Wilson enlivens his work with "mery" tales.<sup>7</sup> Butler's originality lies in his ample compilation of material and occasional shrewd comment; Wilson's individual contribution is in his free handling of sources and his light tone and in such witty observations as "Every Artificer hath through exercise and labour, an artificiall memorie, saving the learned man onely, who hath most neede of it above all other."<sup>8</sup> Wilson is bright reading; Butler says what is to be said about memory.

In the translation of Butler's chapter which follows, I have used standard English versions of the quoted passages, thereby preserving, I hope, the atmosphere of the original. Butler's marginal paragraph headings have been omitted. His marginal notes, with the index at the beginning of the quotation or reference, have been transferred to footnotes. My own contributions to the footnotes are inclosed in square brackets.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), 212.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>9</sup> For the works frequently referred to, the following texts and English translations have been used.

Cicero: *M. Tulli Ciceronis rhetorica*, ed. A. W. Wilkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901-3), in *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis*; *De Oratore* in vol. 1, and *Brutus, Orator*, and *Topica* in vol. 2. *Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur de inventione*, ed. E. Stroebe (Teubner, Leipzig, 1915). Translations in Bohn's Classical Library: *De Oratore*, translation by J. S. Watson based on that by Georges Barnes (1762), and *Brutus*, translation by E. Jones (1776) edited by Watson, in *Cicero on Oratory and Orators* (London, 1862); *De Inventione, Orator*, and *Topica*, translated by C. D. Yonge, in *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, vol. 4 (London, 1852).

*Incerti auctoris de ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium lib. IV*, ed. Fr. Marx, (Teubner, Leipzig, 1923). English translation by Professor Harry Caplan, Cornell University, now in manuscript and scheduled for publication.

*The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, with an English translation by H. E. Butler, 4 vols. (London and New York, 1921-22), in the Loeb Series.

Other works are cited in the footnotes. I have as a rule used the texts and translations of the Loeb Series as most generally available.

I have not noted minor discrepancies between the text quoted by Butler

## TWO BOOKS ON ORATORY

## BOOK II

## Chap. 5.

## Of Memory.

(a) **M**emory is the fifth part of the art of oratory, that part by means of which we, conceiving the oration in our minds and retaining what we have conceived, are able to deliver it readily. (b) And it is either of matter or of words.

There are many means of helping oratorical memory: (c) two-fold memory, that is, both (d) natural and (e) artificial; order in the oration, both in (f) knitting it together and in (g) learning it by heart; (h) practice in speaking memoriter; and also (i) physical health, good digestion, and a mind free from cares; then (k) composition in writing and (l) the reciting of what has been written, either silently or aloud. All these helps are to be employed in their proper time and place. The most suitable (m) time is in the morning; the best (n) place, in truth, is by oneself. Yet each of the aids must be used now and then, as opportunity permits.

*Notes to ch. 5.*<sup>10</sup>

(a) The term memory here does not mean an internal sense itself, or a faculty of memorizing; but it signifies the act of memory, and it means the same as recollection, remembrance, or <sup>11</sup>recalling to

and the standard texts to which reference is made, nor have I modified the English versions to agree with minute variations; although I have, without note, made small changes and left out parts to correspond with Butler's wording. Significant discrepancies are pointed out in the notes.

Special thanks are due Professor Caplan, who, in addition to supplying me with portions of his translation of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* before publication, kindly looked over all my translation of Butler.

<sup>10</sup> [The heading is *Ad c. 5*. The notes that follow, in small type, run forty-six lines to a page (eight and a half pages), whereas the whole of the preceding large type text of the chapter is less than fourteen lines.]

<sup>11</sup> Gellius I. 11. c. 4. [The word *memoratus* does not appear in this chapter in the text of the Loeb edition, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, ed. and trans. by John C. Rolfe, 3 vols., 1927-28. The word is frequently found in other places, usually in the form *memoratu* and with some form of *dignus*, meaning "worth attention" or something similar. I do not find any use as a technical term such as Butler half suggests.]

mind, in which sense it is generally used by the authors. <sup>12</sup>*The memory and recollection of them in the midst of our most momentous and troublesome concerns, was pleasant indeed to me.* <sup>13</sup>*For by reading the epitaphs I refresh my recollection of the dead.* And <sup>14</sup>*He [Balbus] was so much affected by the representation of his own adventures that he burst into tears.* And it is thus defined, Invent. 1. 1. ¶11.<sup>15</sup> *Memory is the lasting sense in the mind of the matters and words.* And Ad Heren. 1. 1. ¶5.<sup>16</sup> *Memory is the firm comprehension by the mind of the topics, words, and arrangement.*

(b) *And it is of matter or.* This division of memory arises from the fact that matter and words are necessary parts of any oration whatever. <sup>17</sup>*For as every speech consists of the matter and the language, the language can have no place if you take away the matter, nor the matter receive any illustration if you take away the language.* Lucullus was outstanding for his memory of matter; Hortensius for his of words. <sup>18</sup>*For Lucullus had a memory for facts that was positively inspired, although Hortensius had a better memory for words.* That Cicero was astonishing in both, most of his pleas indicate, especially the Verrines. So that it is no wonder that he was always ready to speak wisely and eloquently

(c) *Twofold memory.* Heren. 1. 3. ¶35.<sup>19</sup> *There are two kinds of memory: one natural, and the other the product of art. The natural memory is that which is imbedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline.*

(d) *Natural.* The first and principal aid to memory or oratorical

<sup>12</sup> Brut. [Cicero, *Brutus*, II. 9 in Wilkins. In this case I have substantially revised Watson's (i.e. E. Jones') translation, 404, which does not emphasize the words here in point, *memoria et recordatio*.]

<sup>13</sup> Senect. [Cicero, *De Senectute*, VII. 21. Ed. and trans. by W. A. Falconer, Loeb Series, 1923, 30-31. The word here is *memoria*.]

<sup>14</sup> Ep. 32. 1. 10. [Epistles, X.XXXII. 3. Cicero, *The Letters to His Friends*, ed. and trans. by Glynn Williams, Loeb Series, 3 vols., 1927-29, 2.408-9. The word is again *memoria*, and may in the context as well mean "recalling" as "representation." The letter is one written to Cicero by Asinius Pollio.]

<sup>15</sup> [Cicero, *De Inventione*, 1.7 in Stroebel; Yonge, 248]

<sup>16</sup> [*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.II.3 in Marx. Translation of Harry Caplan, as in all quotations from the *Ad Herennium*.]

<sup>17</sup> Orat. 1. 3. ¶6. [Cicero, *De Oratore*, III.V.19 in Wilkins; Watson 337.]

<sup>18</sup> Aca. Quaest. 1. 2. [Cicero, *Academica*, II.I.2. Ed. and trans., with *De Natura Deorum*, by H. Rackham, Loeb Series, 1933, 466-67.]

<sup>19</sup> [*Ad Herennium*, III.XVI.28.]

recollection, without which all others are of little worth, is a natural memory, that common treasury, not only of eloquence, but of all the arts; as the Orator points out, Orat. perf. ¶9.<sup>20</sup> *Memory is common to many arts.* And Orat. 1. 1. ¶5.<sup>21</sup> *What can I say of that repository for all things, the memory, which, unless it be made the keeper of the matter and words that are the fruits of thought and invention, all the talents of the orator, we see, though they be of the highest degree of excellence, will be of no avail?* And Heren. 1. 3. ¶35.<sup>22</sup> *Memory is the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by invention and the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric.* And Quint. 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>23</sup> *Our whole education depends upon memory, and we shall receive instruction all in vain if all we hear slips from us, while it is the power of memory alone that brings before us all the store of precedents, laws, rulings, sayings, and facts which the orator must possess in abundance and which he must always hold ready for immediate use. Indeed it is not without good reason that memory has been called the treasure-house of eloquence.* Whence <sup>24</sup>Tully says that we learn from the poets that Mnemosyne is the mother of the Muses. And natural memory is thus defined by Aristotle: <sup>25</sup>*Memory is a condition of mental picture, as of a portrait of that from which the mental picture is derived.* <sup>26</sup>Sennertus, establishing the three species of inner sense, (the common sense, imagination, and memory), whose organ and seat is the cerebrum, thus defines them:

<sup>20</sup> [Cicero, *Orator*, XVII.54 in Wilkins; Yonge p. 397. The full statement in Cicero, following a declaration of his intention to treat the other four parts of rhetoric, is: "And so no part whatever will be omitted: since nothing need be said in this place of memory, for that is common to many arts."]

<sup>21</sup> [*De Oratore*, I.V.18; Watson p. 147.]

<sup>22</sup> [*Ad Herennium*, III.XVI.28. This is a very free adaptation of a transition sentence in the *Ad Herennium*, but not a distortion.]

<sup>23</sup> [Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoriae*, XI.II.1; Loeb 4.212-13.]

<sup>24</sup> Nat. Deor. 1. 3. [Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III.XXI.54. Ed. and trans. by H. Rackham, Loeb Series, 1933, p. 339. Cicero does not say in this passage that the poets call Mnemosyne the mother of the Muses, but that the second set of Muses are the offspring of Jupiter and Mnemosyne, while the third set, the daughters of Pierus and Antiope, "are usually called by the poets the Pierides . . . and have the same names."]

<sup>25</sup> De Mem. & Remin. [Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*, ed. and trans. by W. S. Hett, Loeb Series, 1935, 451a16, p. 293. Butler's Latin calls for some modification of Hett's translation.]

<sup>26</sup> Med. 1. 1. c. 13. [Daniel S. Sennert, or Sennertus, 1572-1637. The work referred to is probably *Institutionum Medicinae Libri V*, of which I have not seen a copy.]

The common sense is that which perceives the objects of all the external senses, which moves the imagination and brings before it the sensible appearances. And for that reason it is located in the anterior part of the brain, nearest the external senses, where the five nerves of sensation come together.

The imagination is that sense which more diligently examines<sup>27</sup> whether the sensible appearances perceived by the common sense are to be sought after or avoided.

Memory is that sense which at the same time receives many sensible appearances investigated by the imagination, and preserves them, and brings them forth again when the occasion arises. This sense, moreover, is located in the posterior part of the brain. Whence they are said to be strong in memory whose occiput is rather large; those, however, whose sinciput and forehead are prominent are thought to be stronger in imagination and ratiocination. Furthermore, all agree that a dryness of the brain is more favorable to memory; and on the contrary, humidity to imagination. Hence phlegmatic people are weak in memory. And also youths and old men are not strong in memory, as Aristotle teaches. *28Those who are coming into the first flower of age and those who are nearing the end are subject to lapse of memory because of the movement in them; for the latter are in a state of rapid decay, the former in a state of rapid growth and adolescence.* Wherein, moreover, memory differs from recollection, the same author shows in the same place.<sup>29</sup> *Indeed memory and recollection differ not merely in the matter of time, but also in this, that many other living creatures share in memory, but man alone of all beings whose nature we know, is capable of recollection. And, generally speaking, the slow witted have better memories, but the quick witted and those who learn easily are better at recollecting. This is because recollecting implies a process of reasoning; for when a man is recollecting he reasons that he has seen or heard or experienced something of the sort before, and the process is a kind of search. Which Senertus explains thus:<sup>30</sup> To recollect is to turn back the remembrance from one or more things*

<sup>27</sup> [Butler's *exanimat* is an obvious misprint for *examinat*.]

<sup>28</sup> De Memoria & Remin. [Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*, 453b5; Loeb 307. Butler's Latin again calls for modification of Hett's version.]

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 453a4, 449b7, 453a7; Loeb 305, 283, 305. Also modified.]

<sup>30</sup> [See the note on Sennertus, no. 26, above. Butler's spelling of the name varies.]



*preserved in the memory to another thing which is not readily thought of.*

The natural memory is best preserved by physical health; physical health in turn by exercise and labor, to which I particularly urge all studious people whose life is mostly sedentary. And I urge them not, out of an affectation of rash seriousness, to neglect a thing so profitable both to the faculties of the body and to those of the mind.

Quintilian, at the end of his <sup>31</sup>treatment of memory tells of certain men who have been remarkably famous for a natural memory. "There are many historical examples of the power to which memory may be developed by natural aptitude and application. Themistocles is said to have spoken excellently in Persian after a year's study; Mithridates is recorded to have known twenty-two languages, that being the number of the different nations included in his empire; Crassus, surnamed the Rich, when commanding in Asia had such a complete mastery of five different Greek dialects, that he would give judgement in the dialect employed by the plaintiff in putting forward his suit; Cyrus is believed to have known the name of every soldier in his army, while Theodectes is actually said to have been able to repeat any number of verses after only a single hearing. I remember that it used to be alleged that there were persons still living who could do the same, though I never had the good fortune to be present at such a performance. Still, we shall do well to have faith in such miracles, if only that he who believes may also hope to achieve the like."

(e) *Artificial*. The artificial memory is that which, by means of (1) images, mentally conceived and disposed in (2) places of (3) goodly number that have in their (4) order been (5) thoroughly cognized, impresses upon the memory (6) what we wish to remember.<sup>32</sup>

(1) (2) *By images, in places*. Heren. 1. 3. ¶38.<sup>33</sup> "The artificial memory includes places and images. By places I mean the

<sup>31</sup> 1. 11. c. 2. [Quintilian, XI.II. 50-51; Loeb 4. 240-43. There seems to be no reason for the use of quotation marks here, and in a few other places, instead of the usual italics. The " marks are repeated at the beginning of each line, but the closing " marks, which I have inserted, are not in the text.]

<sup>32</sup> [The pattern here is of commentary within commentary, the following six notes, referring to this paragraph, being indented, with a rule in the left hand margin. The translation here has been tortured into preserving Butler's order of notes.]

<sup>33</sup> [Ad Herennium, III.XVI-XVII.29-30. There are more small discrepancies in this passage than elsewhere between the text quoted by Butler and

works of nature or art, of small compass, whole, and set off distinctly, so that we can grasp and embrace them easily by the natural memory—for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like. Images are a kind of forms and marks and patterns of the object we wish to remember; for example, if we wish to recall a horse, a lion, or an eagle, we must set the images of these in fixed places. Those who know the letters of the alphabet can by their means ‘take dictation’ and read what they have written. Likewise those who have learned mnemonics can set in their places what they have heard, and from these places deliver it by memory. For the places are very much like wax or paper, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, the delivery is like the reading.”

(3) *Goodly number.* The same, ¶41.<sup>34</sup> *We must, therefore, if we desire an extensive memory, provide ourselves with a multitude of places, so that in these many places we can set a multitude of images.* And a little farther on,<sup>35</sup> *You ought to see to it that you have a goodly number of places and that these conform as much as possible to the rules, but in placing the images you require daily exercise.* Fabius tells of the 360 places of Metrodorus, in the twelve signs of the Zodiac, to wit, 30 degrees to each sign.<sup>36</sup> It would not be strange for him to wonder at their number unless, as Cicero has it,<sup>37</sup> Metrodorus’ memory was a divine one, which could not easily be thwarted. See after (6) below.

(4) *In order.* <sup>38</sup>*I likewise think that we should have these places set in orderly arrangement, so that we may never be hampered by confusion in their order.* And Orat. 1. 2. ¶84.<sup>39</sup>

Marx’s text, but the differences, except for the omission of *nunc . . . ostendemus*, are not significant for the general interpretation.]

<sup>34</sup> [*Ibid.*, III.XVII.30.]

<sup>35</sup> [*Ibid.*, III.XXIV.40. Butler has *debebis* where Marx has *poteris*.]

<sup>36</sup> [Cf. Quintilian, XI.II.22; Loeb 4.225.]

<sup>37</sup> [Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.LXXXVIII.360; Watson 328. Cf. note 44 below.]

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, [i.e., *Ad Herennium*, III.XVII.30. Caplan’s version modified because of Butler’s incomplete quotation.]

<sup>39</sup> [*De Oratore*, II.LXXXVI, 354; Watson 326.]

Thus the order of places would preserve the order of things, and the symbols of the things would denote the things themselves. Of such value is order that Simonides is said to have prepared his own artificial memory on that basis. <sup>40</sup>I am grateful to the famous Simonides of Ceos, who, as people say, first invented an art of memory. For they relate, that when Simonides was at Crannon—(see the place). Admonished by this occurrence, he is reported to have discovered, that it is chiefly order that gives distinctness to memory.

(5) Thoroughly cognized. <sup>41</sup>That is why we must arrange the places in order, and must study with special care the places we have adopted so that they cling to us constantly, for the images, like the letters, are effaced when we make no use of them, but the places, like wax, should abide.

(6) What we wish to remember. These are either matter or words. Heren. 1. 3. ¶42.<sup>42</sup> Thus, likenesses should be of two kinds, one of subject matter, the other of words. A likeness of subject matter is produced when we evoke the image of the matter itself in synoptic form. Likenesses of words are established when the memory of each single name and word is marked by an image. If you wish to know more about the image of the whole matter and also about the images of words (which our

<sup>40</sup> Orat. 1. 2. ad finem. [*De Oratore*, II.LXXXVI.351-53; Watson pp. 325-26. The omitted portion: "For they relate, that when Simonides was at Crannon in Thessaly, at an entertainment given by Scopas, a man of rank and fortune, and had recited a poem which he had composed in his praise, in which, for the sake of embellishment, after the manner of the poets, there were many particulars introduced concerning Castor and Pollux, Scopas told Simonides, with extraordinary meanness, that he would pay him half the sum which he had agreed to give for the poem, and that he might ask the remainder, if he thought proper, from his Tyndaridae, to whom he had given an equal share of praise. A short time after, they say that a message was brought in to Simonides, to desire him to go out, as two youths were waiting at the gate who earnestly wished him to come forth to them; when he arose, went forth, and found nobody. In the meantime the apartment in which Scopas was feasting fell down, and he himself, and his company, were overwhelmed and buried in the ruins; and when their friends were desirous to inter their remains, but could not possibly distinguish one from another, so much crushed were the bodies, Simonides is said, from his recollection of the place in which each had sat, to have given satisfactory directions for their interment."]

<sup>41</sup> Heren. 1. 3. ¶41. [*Ad Herennium*, III.XVIII.31. Butler's text calls for a slight modification of Caplan's translation.]

<sup>42</sup> [*Ibid.*, III.XX.33.]

Author does not there recommend only because of the difficulty), see ¶43 and 44.<sup>43</sup>

There is some doubt about the use and efficacy of this artifice. The Orator, having faith in the testimony of the ancient memorists, seems to make much of it. <sup>44</sup>*I have seen men of consummate abilities, and an almost divine faculty of memory, as Charmadas at Athens, and Metrodorus in Asia, each of whom used to say that, as he wrote with letters on wax, so he wrote with symbols as it were, whatever he wished to remember, on these places which he had conceived in imagination. Though, therefore, a memory cannot be entirely formed by this practice, if there is none given by nature; yet certainly, if there is latent natural faculty, it may be called forth.* There was not wanting in those times, however, any number of men who would say that, <sup>45</sup>*the memory is oppressed by the weight of these representations, and that even obscured which unassisted nature might have clearly kept in view.* As though it was more difficult to commit to memory the places and the images representing the subject matter than the subject matter itself and the words; not to mention the fact that, once the images have been arranged, there still remains the other, not less difficult, task of quickly picking out from those places and images, the subject matter itself and its order. Quintilian indeed rightly observes that the artifice is useful for reciting dictated names in order. <sup>46</sup>*I am far from denying that those devices may be useful for certain purposes, as, for example, if we have to reproduce a number of names in the order in which we heard them.* But what the utility of this artifice is in the art of speaking or how it can aid and not confuse the memory of the orator, I frankly confess that I have never been of so fortunate a wit as to perceive. Nor does the Orator himself seem to have made it clear either in 1. 2. *de Ora-*

<sup>43</sup> [Cf. *Ad Herennium*, III.XX-XXIII.33-39. In sec. 34 is the statement to the effect that we must make more effort and exercise more ingenuity if we wish to use images for words.]

<sup>44</sup> *Orat.* 1. 2. ad finem. [*De Oratore*, II.LXXXVIII.360; Watson 328. Butler has a marginal cross reference to "these places": "Vide (3) supra."]

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* [*De Oratore*, II.LXXXVIII.360; Watson 328. The full passage, which comes before that of the preceding note, is: "Nor is that true which is said by people unskilled in this artifice, that the memory is oppressed . . ."]

<sup>46</sup> 1. 11. c. 2. [Quintilian, XI.II.23; Loeb 4.224-25.]

tore or in *ad Heren.* 1. 3.<sup>47</sup> (if that is his),<sup>48</sup> where this matter is treated more copiously. And certainly if all those things were true which are commonly declared, someone would be found somewhere, among the distinguished and clever men of genius who thrive in great numbers today in all branches of learning, who would track down this hidden mystery, perfect it, make use of it, and bring it into the light.

(f) *Knitting it together.* The parts of order in knitting the oration together are division and composition. Q. 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>49</sup> *But for the purpose of getting a real grasp of what we have written under the various heads, division and artistic structure will be found of great value, while, with the exception of practice, which is the most powerful aid of all, they are practically the only means of ensuring an accurate remembrance of what we have merely thought out. For correct division will be an absolute safeguard against error in the order of our speech. Again, if our structure be what it should, the artistic sequence will serve to guide the memory, since obviously consequences and antecedents are joined together, and since the medial things are thus connected with the first, and the final with the medial; so that nothing can either be taken away without making the alteration apparent to the intelligence, or inserted.*

(g) *Learning by heart.* The right order in learning the speech by heart is to commit it to memory bit by bit. Q. in the place cited above:<sup>50</sup> *If a speech of some length has to be committed to memory, it will be well to learn it piecemeal. But the sections into which we divide it for this purpose should not be very short: otherwise they will be too many in number. Nor is it, moreover, a useless practice, in order to get certain parts to stick in the memory more easily, to indicate them by certain marks, the remembrance of which will refresh and stimulate the memory.* And a little farther on:<sup>51</sup> *There is one thing which will be of assistance to everyone, namely, to learn*

<sup>47</sup> [Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.LXXXVI-LXXXVIII; Watson 325-28. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.XVI-XXIV.]

<sup>48</sup> [The genuineness of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which had passed as Cicero's in the Middle Ages, had been questioned since nearly a century and a half before the date of Butler's work.]

<sup>49</sup> [Quintilian, XI.II.36, 39; Loeb 4.232-35.]

<sup>50</sup> [*Ibid.*, XI.II.27-28; Loeb 4.226-29. Butler's text calls for some modification of the Loeb translation.]

<sup>51</sup> [*Ibid.*, XI.II.32; Loeb 4.228-31.]

a passage by heart from the same tablets on which he has committed it to writing. For he will have certain tracks to guide him in his pursuit of memory, and the mind's eye will be fixed not merely on the pages on which the words were written, but on individual lines, and at times he will speak as though he were reading aloud. Further, if the writing should be interrupted by some erasure, addition or alteration, there are certain symbols available, the sight of which will prevent us from wandering from the track.

(h) Practice in speaking memoriter. Q. 1. 1. c. 1.<sup>52</sup> For memory is most necessary to an orator, and there is nothing like practice for strengthening and developing it. And 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>53</sup> However, if anyone asks me what is the one supreme method of memory, I shall reply, practice and industry. The most important thing is to learn much by heart and to think much, and, if possible, to do this daily, since there is nothing that is more increased by practice or impaired by neglect than memory. Therefore boys should, as I have already urged, learn as much as possible by heart at the earliest stage, while all who, whatever their age, desire to cultivate the power of memory, should endeavor to swallow the initial tedium of reading and re-reading what they have written or read, a process which we may compare to chewing the cud. This task will be rendered less tiresome if one begins by confining himself to learning only a little at a time, in amounts not sufficient to create tedium: one may then proceed to increase the amount by a line a day, an addition which will not sensibly increase the labour of learning, until at last the amount one can attack will know no limits. One should begin with poetry and then go on to oratory, while finally one may attempt passages still freer in rhythm and less akin to ordinary speech, such, for example, as passages from legal writers. Also Orat. 1. 1. ¶39.<sup>54</sup> The memory is also to be exercised, by learning accurately by heart as many of our own writings, and those of others, as we can. And the habitual practice of Cato, of which he himself speaks, will be of no little help to the memory. <sup>55</sup>In order to exercise my memory, I follow the practice of the Pythagoreans and run over in my mind every evening all that I have said, heard, or done during the day.

(i) Physical health, good digestion, carefree mind. These three

<sup>52</sup> [*Ibid.*, I.I.36; Loeb 1.38-39.]

<sup>53</sup> [*Ibid.*, XI.II.40-41; Loeb 4.234-37.]

<sup>54</sup> [*De Oratore*, I.XXXIV.157; Watson 181-82.]

<sup>55</sup> T. de Senectute. [Cicero, *De Senectute*, XI.38; Loeb 46-47.]



are also an aid to invention. Q. 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>56</sup> *Both learning by heart and writing have this feature in common: namely, that good health, sound digestion, and freedom from other preoccupations of mind contribute largely to the success of both.*

(k) *Composition in writing.* Q. 1. 10. c. 7.<sup>57</sup> *Writing will give us greater precision of speech, while speaking will make us write with greater facility. We must write, therefore, whenever possible; if we cannot write, we must meditate. And Lud. Vives:<sup>58</sup> It is a very useful practice to write down what we want to remember, for it is not less impressed on the mind than on the paper by the pen, and indeed the attention is kept fixed longer by the fact that we are writing it down.*

(l) *Reciting of what has been written, either silently or aloud.* Arist. de Memoria.<sup>59</sup> *Practice in working over a thing preserves the memory.* Q. 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>60</sup> *It would be an expeditious and effective device to learn by heart, in silence, if it were not for the fact that under such circumstances the mind is apt to become indolent, with the result that other thoughts break in. For this reason the mind should be kept alert by the sound of the voice, so that the memory may derive assistance from the double effort of speaking and listening. But our voice should be subdued, rising scarcely above a murmur. On the other hand, if we attempt to learn by heart from another reading aloud, we shall find that there is both loss and gain; on the one hand, the process of learning will be slower, because the perception of the eye is quicker than that of the ear, while, on the other hand, when we have heard a passage once or twice, we shall be in a position to test our memory and match it against the voice of the reader.*

(m) *The time.* But the memory is marvelously strengthened, if, in the silence of the night after the first slumber, you recall those things which you have written, read, thought about, and to a certain point committed to memory just before going to sleep, and think them over; and if, upon being awakened in the morning and while

<sup>56</sup> [Quintilian, XI.II.35; Loeb 4.232-33.]

<sup>57</sup> [*Ibid.*, X.VII.29; Loeb 4.148-49.]

<sup>58</sup> [Ludovicus Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis*, III.III. Translated in Foster Watson, *Vives: On Education* (Cambridge, 1913), 109-10.]

<sup>59</sup> [Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*, 451a12, Loeb 291, 93. Butler's *commentationes* undoubtedly means more than the mere practice suggested by the Loeb version.]

<sup>60</sup> [Quintilian, XI.II.33-34; Loeb 4.230-31. The first part is not direct quotation.]

taking a walk out of doors, you repeat them to yourself in a loud voice; meanwhile *repeating those passages which tend to slip from the memory with a view to fixing them in the mind by frequent rehearsal, although as a rule the mere fact that they once slipped our memory makes us ultimately remember them with special accuracy. It is a curious fact, of which the reason is not obvious, that the interval of a single night will greatly increase the strength of the memory, whether this be due to the fact that it has rested from the labour, the fatigue of which constituted the obstacle to success, or whether it be that the power of recollection, which is the most important element of memory, undergoes a progress of ripening and maturing during the time which intervenes.*<sup>61</sup> It also helps very much, when you already have the speech well in mind, to deliver it to forgetfulness, as it were (the script being set aside for the moment and all reflection upon the subject); and after a while, with the script taken up again in your hand, to refresh the memory, which is failing because of this neglect, by a new but easy exertion. The second impression, moreover, will be deeper and more firmly fixed. By this same means you will readily catch errors, if any have escaped you in the composition, when you approach your work, now a sort of alien thing, as an impartial critic, not as a friendly author.

(n) *The place.* Treutlerus Method. Eloq.<sup>62</sup> *A solitary place should be chosen for memorizing: 1. various objects will not distract the memory; 2. because in a solitary place reading may be undertaken, as it ought to be for an oration, in a loud voice.*

These, then, are the aids which fortify the memory in advance. The remedies which come to the assistance of one faltering in the middle of a speech are two: an index and a faculty for extemporaneous speaking. These are especially to be employed when either the natural memory is rather weak or when not enough time is available for learning by heart.

An index is a small sheet conveniently attached to a little book, containing as many columns as there are parts to the written speech, and in each column the beginnings of the principal periods, noted in

<sup>61</sup> [This is the only quotation without cited source in the chapter. It is from Quintilian, XI.II.35, 43; Loeb 4.232-33, 236-37.]

<sup>62</sup> [Hieronymus Treutler, or Treutlerus, 1565-1607, teacher and writer on dialectic, rhetoric, and law, mostly at Marburg. *Isagoge sive thesaurus eloquentiae* (Frankfurt, 1602[?]), is probably the work referred to. I have not seen it. Treutler and Junius, see note 79 below, are the only contemporary rhetoricians cited in this chapter.]

**Remedia Memoria L. II. CAP. V. De Memoria.**

ciderunt. Mirum dictum est, nec in promptu ratio, quantum nox interposita afferat firmitatis: siue quiescit labor ille, cujus sibi ipsa fatigatio obstat; siue maturatur atq; conquisitur; seu firmissima ejus pars est recordatio. Valde etiam juvat, cum jam orationem probe teneas, eam (seposito ad tempus scripto, omnique ea de re cogitatione) quasi oblivioni tradere; & postmodum, scripto in manus relumpto, illius memoriam hâc neglectu deficientem, novo, sed facili, labore redintegrare. Secunda etiam, aliorum est & firmior impressio. Hoc eodem pacto, errata, siqua in contexendo te fugerint, facile deprehendes: cum ad opus tuum, jam quasi alienum, ut Censor æquus, non ut Author amicus, accedas.

**Locum.** (n) **Locum.** Treutlerus Method. Eloq. Ad memoriam eligendum est locum solitarius: 1. ne varia objecta memoriam distraham; 2. quia in loco solitario recitatio potest insitui, sicut oratio habenda est, [clarâ voce.]

**Remedia.** Atque hæc sunt, quæ memoriam antè firmant, Adjumenta. Quæ interdandum labanti succurrant Remedia, sunt duo: Index, & Extemporalis Dicendi facultas; tunc præcipuè adhibenda, cum aut Memoria infirmior, aut non satis datur ad ediscendum temporis.

**Index.** Index est chartula libello commodè affixa, tot continens Columnas, quot scriptum Partes; & in qualibet columna præcipuorum Periodorum Initia, arcano, si placet, notata caractere. Quod si scripti partes plures fuerint, & inæquales; breves conjungendo, & de longa ad brevem aliquid transferendo, pauciores fiant Columnæ, & æquales. Exemplo sit Index Orationis 16. Cujus Exordium & Propositio conjunguntur in prima Columna: in secunda ponitur Narratio de vita & studijs Archæ: in tertia Confirmatio Propositionis per testes & leges. Objectionum Confutatio duas continet Digressiones: alteram de laude literarum & Poësis in Col. 4. alteram de Gloria [virtutis præmio] in quinta. Subjicitur, sexto loco, Peroratio: hunc in modum:

EXOR. Sigideff. Nā quod lon. Qod sit		Ac nequis à. Etenim om. Sed ne cui vest. PROP. Qod simibi.	
NARR.	CONFIRM.	DIGRESS. 1.	DIGR. 2.
Nam vi prim. ex	Data est c. Cū hīc d	Quæsi à nob. Qia s. An tu a.	Neq; enim Them Itaque d
Erat Ital. i. pl.	Si nūbula. Qid en h	Ego ver f. Me autē. Qar q.	Mithr. Pop. en. Nostr. semp.
Itaq; hūc & Tar	Herasl. Adē. Adf.	Atq; h. eo. Qe si. Nam nisi m.	Qar. q. Car. f. At q. In cel
Hac itaq; cel. St. l.	Hic tu r. Est rid.	Sed piens o. Qam mult. nob.	Erg il q. Nam si qis. Qar. f. r.
Sed enim hoc r. f.	Et domir. r. At n. c. p	Quæsi qis. Ego ml. Atq; t.	Qam ml. Qid? Nostr. Itaq; cr.
Erat temp. ill. j.	Nā cū ap. Has igit. i.	Ex hoc est. Qod fin. Nā cet.	Syllacum h. Qid à Q. Neggan.
Interim factu l.	Qa cū n. si. Eten. c.	Qod si p. Qis n. ergo illa.	Ipsi illi Decius. tam vero
	Qid? cū. Cert. n. Est	Qis eg. Hunc n. eg. Atque f	Qar in q. Atq; ut id. Nā qar.
	Sed qon. Qaro arg.	Qar. suo. Sit igit. Sax t. f.	Nul. en. Cert fin. An vero t.
		Homer Erg. il. Nam & cimb.	At cū s. Ego ver. o. Hac ver. f.
PEROR. Quæ conserve Induces. Qæ cum ita sint Qa de caus. p. qæ non fotti.			

secret shorthand if you wish. Now if there are many parts to the script and they are of unequal length, the columns are to be made fewer and of more nearly equal length by joining the short parts together and by transferring something from the long to the short parts. Let an index of Oration 26<sup>63</sup> serve as an example. The exordium and proposition are joined together in the first column; in the second is placed the narration of the life and studies of Archias; in the third the confirmation of the proposition by witnesses and laws. The refutation of objections contains two digressions: the first on the praise of letters and poetry in column 4; the second on fame (the reward of virtue) in the fifth. There is subjoined in the sixth place the peroration. In this wise:<sup>64</sup>

*EXOR.* Whatever talent I. For if I strain. If this voice. My remarks. *Ind.* the subtle. It may howev. *PROP.* Let me but assure.

*NARR.* As soon as Arch. In South. Ital. Accord. at Tar. So, when the voice. *Immed.* upon his arriv. Moreov. it speaks. He enjoyed. After a lapse.

*CONFIRM.* He was grant. the franch. My client had. If the validity. For can y. Will y. deny. We have here. We have here a dist. And after all. It is absurd. Or do y. deny. Or did he fail. For tho. the burgess. These, then, are the rolls. This being so. *Cit. of the anc.* Others h. found. Y. say y. look. Yes. But since. Upon y lies.

*DIGRESS.* 1. Y. will no doubt. It is bec. Do y. think. I am a vot. But what shame. How then can. I have the bet. Yet insign. Had I not per. All liter. How many pict. "But," an obj. Many th. have been. Yet I do. Such a char. But let us. Other purs. But it might. Was th. a man. Merely by the mot. How often. Does not. And yet. Rightly then. Holy then, gent. The very rocks. Coloph. asserts. These peop. For in his.

*DIGR.* 2. For indeed. It is rel. On a like found. Again, my cl. For it was. To us shall. and it is. Our great Enn. Yet we may. He exal. For this reas. For if anyone. Seeing, therof. We read. Again, did not. Accord. if. Sulla, no doubt. Again, could not. Ambition. Why, upon. That gallant off. more, the great. Surely, then, in. And the more. The measures. For magnan. If the soul. Are we to show. Many great. For my part. It may be.

*PEROR.* Wherefore, gentlemen, protect. Throughout his career. I am sure that. and I hope that.

You can yourself devise indexes of some other sort for your own use, and perhaps indexes more suitable to your convenience. <sup>65</sup>Why do we wish to rob anybody of his initiative, so that to save him from

<sup>63</sup> [I.e., Cicero's *Pro A. Licinio Archia Poeta Oratio*, which is edited and translated by N. H. Watts in the Loeb Series, 1923.]

<sup>64</sup> [The arrangement of the table is shown in the reproduction on page 59. I give here roughly parallel catch words from the "beginnings of the periods" in Watts' translation. Butler's periods correspond for the most part, but not in all cases, to those in Watts' edition, and his text shows few variations. I have shown here the crowded spacing, the alternation of italic and roman type, a roughly similar although not parallel use of haphazard abbreviation, and the distribution of the parts, although not in a columnar arrangement.]

<sup>65</sup> Heren. 1. 3. ¶44. [*Ad Herennium*, III.XXIII.38.]

*searching anything himself, we deliver to him everything, searched and ready.*

The remedy of extemporaneous speech is in truth far more excellent. <sup>66</sup>*The highest reward of our long labors and the very perfection of the art, is the power of improvisation. The man who fails to acquire this had better abandon the task of advocacy and devote his powers of writing to other branches of literature. For there are countless occasions when the sudden necessity may be imposed upon him of speaking without preparation before the magistrates or in a trial which comes on unexpectedly. What will happen when he has to reply to his opponent? For often the expected arguments to which we have written a reply [fail us] and the whole aspect of the case undergoes a sudden change. Again, what use is much writing, assiduous reading and long years of study, if the difficulty is to remain as great as it was in the beginning? Yet I do not ask him to \*prefer to speak extempore, but merely that he should be able to do so.*

\* Indeed, he who, abandoning composition in writing, has recourse to extemporaneous speaking at all times, little by little sinks down to a gross and ignoble way of speaking.

No one will come near to attaining this perfection, however, unless he is equipped with a keen natural talent, a tenacious memory, and a manifold knowledge of affairs. Thus prepared, he should first attempt to speak a few periods from the written oration a little differently from the way he has written them. When he is able to do this, some whole division of the speech may be delivered with variations. Then, leaving the exordium and epilogue unchanged, let him try an alteration of the whole treatment, yet keeping in mind the arguments and their order. When he has finally accomplished this commendably several times, he will be permitted to make further progress from the written to the thought-out speech, and, only the first and last parts having been written, to make up the partition in his mind, and to run over in his imagination the places of <sup>67</sup>invention in treating the several parts. From this source he will choose the arguments which are most appropriate to each part. Words will not

<sup>66</sup> Q. 1. 10. c. 7. [Quintilian, X.VII.1-4; Loeb 4.132-35. Not a continuous quotation. The omitted *fallunt* has to be restored to make sense.]

<sup>67</sup> *Lege Epilogum Locorum*. [Cf. Cicero's *Topics*, XXVI.97-98; Yonge, 485. There is very little on the subject there.]

be wanting for the experienced speaker, once the matter has been thought out. <sup>68</sup>*For copiousness of matter produces copiousness of language.*

<sup>69</sup>*Matter once provided, words will freely flow.*

And thus let him at last, step by step, complete the whole extemporaneous speech with very little premeditation. In all this, assuredly, let him make trial of his powers first alone, then with one or another of his companions listening, and finally in public in the schools. <sup>70</sup>*Your language must then be brought forth, says Crassus, from this domestic and retired exercise, into the midst of the field, into the dust and clamour, into the camp and military array of the forum.*

But <sup>71</sup>*facility is mainly the result of habit and exercise and, if it be lost only for a brief time, the result will be not merely that we fall short of the requisite rapidity, but also a veritable numbness will come upon and attend us. For although we need to possess a certain natural nimbleness of mind to enable us, while we are saying what the instant demands, to build up what is to follow and to secure that there will always be some thought formed and conceived in advance ready to serve our voice, none the less, it is scarcely possible either for natural gifts or for methodic art to enable the mind to grapple simultaneously with such manifold duties, and to be equal at one and the same time to the tasks of invention, arrangement, and style, together with what we are uttering at the moment, what we have got to say next and what we have to look to still further on, not to mention the fact that it is necessary all the time to give close attention to voice and gesture. Here what the Orator advises is helpful: <sup>72</sup>*We should never be careless about our language. Whatever we say, under whatever circumstances, should be perfect in its way. And just as the habit of speaking accurately, so too that of studious composition, and especially that of writing, are of use to extempo-**

<sup>68</sup> Orat. I. 3. ¶19. [*De Oratore*, III.XXXI.125; Watson 367.]

<sup>69</sup> Horat. in Arte. [Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, I. 311. Text and translation, by Howes, in A. S. Cook, *The Art of Poetry* (Boston, 1892), 23.]

<sup>70</sup> Orat. I. 1. ¶ 39. [*De Oratore*, I.XXXIV.157; Watson 182.]

<sup>71</sup> Q. I. 10. c. 7. [Quintilian, X.VII.8-9; Loeb 4.136-39. Butler has *νάρκημα* where the Loeb text adopts Halm's *os*.]

<sup>72</sup> ait Fab. I. 10. [I.e., Quintilian, X.VII.28; Loeb 4.148-49. H. E. Butler, editor of the Loeb Quintilian, notes, p. 148, that there is no trace of this in Cicero.]



aneous speaking; as Fabius shows: <sup>73</sup>*But we must study always and everywhere.* And shortly afterwards: <sup>74</sup>*As regards writing, this is certainly never more necessary than when we have frequently to speak extempore.* And also in the Orator, Crassus says: <sup>75</sup>*“Therefore, although it be useful even frequently to speak on the sudden, yet it is more advantageous, after taking time to consider, to speak with greater preparation and accuracy. But the chief point of all is that which (to say the truth) we hardly ever practise (for it requires great labour, which most of us avoid); I mean, to write as much as possible. Writing is said to be the best and most excellent modeller and teacher of oratory; and not without reason; for if what is meditated and considered easily surpasses sudden and extemporary speech, a constant and diligent habit of writing will surely be of more effect than meditation and consideration itself; since all the arguments relating to the subject on which we write, suggested by art, will present themselves, and occur to us, while we examine and contemplate it in the full light of our intellect; and all the thoughts and words, which are the most expressive of their kind, must of necessity come under and submit to the keenness of our judgment while writing; and a fair arrangement and collocation of the words is effected by writing, in a certain rhythm and measure, not poetical, but oratorical. Such are the qualities which bring applause and admiration to good orators; nor will any man ever attain them, unless after long and great practice in writing, however resolutely he may have exercised himself in extemporary speeches; and he who comes to speak after practice in writing brings this advantage with him, that though he speak at the call of the moment, yet what he says will bear a resemblance to something written; and if ever, when he comes*

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem. [Quintilian, X.VII.26; Loeb 4.146-47.]

<sup>74</sup> [Ibid., X.VII.28; Loeb 4.148-49.]

<sup>75</sup> Orat. I. 1. ¶ 39. [*De Oratore*, I.XXXIII.150-53; Watson 180-81.]

<sup>76</sup> [Stylus] i.[e.] Writing. The metalepsis [*stylus* for *scriptio*, writing] is far fetched in this word. For *stylus*, from *ἵστυμι*, to stand, is properly said of a *column*; *column* is put for a *cone* by synecdoche of the genus; *cone* by metaphor for the *writing instrument* with which one marks on wax or waxen tablets; the *writing instrument* by metonymy of the cause for *writing*, of which it is the instrumental cause. In the same way as in this place, *writing* is in turn used by synecdoche of the genus for one kind or characteristic of *writing*, which is usually called *style*. See c. 2. § 3. [This is the only marginal note of this sort. *Stylus* is the word in Cicero, which Watson translates “writing.” Section 3 of chapter 2 of this work, to which reference is made, deals with the three styles of classical rhetoric.]

to speak, he brings anything with him in writing, the rest of his speech, when he departs from what is written, will flow on in a similar strain. As, when a boat has once been impelled forward, though the rowers suspend their efforts, the vessel herself still keeps her motion and course during the intermission of the impulse and force of the oars; so, in a continued stream of oratory, when written matter fails, the rest of the speech maintains a similar flow, being impelled by the resemblance and force acquired from what was written."

With these helps, worthy youths should strive with all their strength for that renowned perfection of Gorgias of Leontini. <sup>77</sup>*And he [Gorgias the Leontine] was the first of all men that ventured to demand, in a large assembly, on what subject anyone desired to hear him speak; and to whom such honours were paid in Greece, that to him alone of all great men, a statue was erected at Delphi, not gilded, but of solid gold.*

A third practice, which perhaps some one may add to these, i.e., looking at the book, is to be held not so much an aid as a disgrace, absolutely unworthy the dignity of an orator. Q. 1. 11. c. 2.<sup>78</sup> *It is a mistake to permit the student to consult his manuscript, since such practices merely encourage carelessness. It is this which causes interruptions in the flow of speech and makes the orator's language halting and jerky, while he seems as though he were learning what he says by heart and loses all the grace that a well-written speech can give.* And therefore it is not to be permitted either to adults or to boys. Let there rather be given them, while they are reciting their own writings or those of others, the services of a prompter, who is not to suggest the word except when the speaker is obviously making a mistake or at a loss. Nevertheless, the mistakes are, in truth, to be taken account of; and those made three times or four at first, afterwards twice or once, are to be punished with a penalty of the ferule or some disgrace; until at last the speakers can get through the whole task by their own efforts, or at all events with the scanty aid of an index. For it rarely so happens that adults who have been trained from boyhood in this excellent method of speaking memoriter make even slight mistakes. Moreover, an insipid reading of the whole

<sup>77</sup> Orat. 1. 3. §20. [*De Oratore*, III. XXXII. 128; Watson 368.]

<sup>78</sup> [Quintilian, XI. II. 45-46; Loeb 4.238-39. By omitting *admoneri et* from the beginning of this quotation, Butler avoids calling attention to his disagreement with Quintilian on the use of a prompter.]

written speech, while the mind and the eyes are intent on the manuscript, loses all the charm of gesture and expression of countenance; and accordingly impresses the minds of the hearers the less and accomplishes less in persuasion. <sup>79</sup>*It is to be permitted invalids and princes occupied with affairs of state to read aloud the speech from the written composition.*

If anyone, depending on the excellence of his memory, will risk speaking without using any aid, he will have seen to it that, when he is about to speak, he has not only the subject matter and the order of the material, but even the words themselves, perfectly in mind. <sup>80</sup>*Let not the forgetting of any one of the words lead to an awkward hesitation or a more awkward silence. For the loss of even a single word that we have chosen is always a matter for regret, and it is hard to supply a substitute when we are searching for the word that we had written.*

<sup>79</sup> Iunius Meth. Eloquentiae. c. 20. [Melchoir Junius, 1545-1604, Professor Eloquentiae at Strassburg, published several works on rhetoric, among them *Methodus eloquentiae comparandae, scholiis aliquot rhetoricis tradita* (Strassburg and Basel, 1589), which I have not seen. See note 62 above.]

<sup>80</sup> Q. 1. 11. c. 2. [Quintilian, XI.II.48-49; Loeb 4.240-41. The first part of this passage differs substantially from the text of the Loeb edition of Quintilian; the advice in Butler's preceding sentence is contradictory to that of Quintilian.]

## SOME CONCEPTIONS OF EMOTIONAL APPEAL IN RHETORICAL THEORY

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THE concept of *pathos* or emotional appeal has meaning for the individual engaged in oral discourse, and for the student engaged in the criticism of such discourse. Aristotle included it as one of the means of persuasion.

The character (*ethos*) of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief . . . character is the most potent of all the means to persuasion. Secondly, persuasion is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion (*pathos*) . . . Thirdly, persuasion is effected by the arguments, when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent, by such means as inhere in particular cases.<sup>1</sup>

From the point of view of the analyst, Hudson has defined the concept as an instrument of criticism.

The student of rhetoric looks upon each oration as an effort in persuasion; he must learn what he can of the audience to which it was addressed; he takes note of the appeals that are made, with reference to the motives that are touched, the emotions that are aroused. He must know the character and reputation of the speaker at the time that the speech was made; for a speech otherwise persuasive may fail of effect because the speaker lacks a persuasive *ethos*.<sup>2</sup>

It is a commonplace that a science advances only as its methodology is refined, and its concepts defined. For the student of rhetorical theory there is particular relevance in the latter effort. The available texts which are concerned with the techniques and precepts of public speaking from Aristotle to the turn of the twentieth century provide no uniform statement of the meaning and purposes of *pathos*. This study is an attempt to summarize some of those perspectives.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cooper, Lane, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), 1, 2, 1355b-1356a.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson, Hoyt H., "The Field of Rhetoric," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, IX (April, 1923), 167-180. See also Wichelns, Herbert A., "The Literary Criticism of Oratory," *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking In Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York: The Century Company, 1925), 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> From chapters I and V of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Northwestern University.

I. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN *Ethos* AND *Pathos*

In order to make clear the scope and content of the doctrine of emotional appeal, it is necessary to understand in what way it differs from the persuasive effect of the *ethos* of the speaker.

In his analysis of the artistic proofs or means of persuasion Aristotle has differentiated between the effect on the audience of the character of the speaker and the mental effect of emotions aroused in the hearers. The persuasive power of the speaker is derived from his character, antecedents, and demeanor, his evident or seeming earnestness, "for as a rule we trust men of probity more and more quickly about things in general." The speaker's *ethos* and the trust generated by it must be created by the speech itself and not left "to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man." Aristotle affirms that the "ethical pistis" is the most powerful of the artistic proofs. *Pathos* results when the speaker has moved the mental states of the audience to pity, anger, shame, etc., so that their perception of the case and the decisions they make will be altered to the view desired by the speaker. The distinction, then, in the Aristotelian scheme is between the moral states evidenced in the speech and the emotional states aroused in the audience. Both, however, are phases of the system of *persuasives* which make for the speaker's success.<sup>4</sup>

In the rhetorical treatises of Cicero the concepts are differentiated on a functional basis. *Ethos* becomes a way of winning the favor of the audience. When the speech shows the speaker to be generous, merciful, just, and upright, the hearers will be positively disposed and conciliatory.<sup>5</sup> Grant has pointed out that laughter is closely allied with the function of the *ethos* since it is, too, in Cicero a means of conciliating the audience and winning their good favor by revealing the cultured and kindly nature of the speaker. The words *benevolentia* and *conciliare* appear in the discussions of both.<sup>6</sup> In short the function of the *ethos* is *delectare*, while that of *pathos* is *flectere* or *movere*. The functional distinction is further apparent in the Ciceronian treatment of style. Baldwin has pointed out that the median style directed to the winning of sympathy is characterized by

<sup>4</sup> *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, I, 2, 1356a.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *On Oratory and Orators*, translated by J. S. Watson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), II, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Grant, Mary A., "The Ancient Rhetorical Theories of the Laughable," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, XXI (1924), 73-75.

*suavitas*. The grand style is aimed at *pathos*.<sup>7</sup> The same point is made by Grant and Fiske.

Ethos is rather characteristic of the *sermo*, one of the most highly developed genres under the plain style . . . On the other hand *pathos* is more commonly connected with the *contentio*, associated with the grand style . . . The *contentio* aims at exciting an emotional effect. The *sermo*, on the contrary, aims at relaxing emotional tension . . . by an exhibition of character, whether in the orator himself, in the personages he depicts, especially in his *narratio*, or in the characters produced by the poets on the comic stage.<sup>8</sup>

Cicero continues the differentiation in his treatment of *actio*. He describes the ethical delivery as "*ad naturas et ad mores et ad omnem vitae consuetudinem accommodatum*." The tone is "*come, incundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandum paratum*." The general nature of the *pathos* is characterized as *vehemens, incensum, incitatum*.<sup>9</sup>

Quintilian has pointed out the effect of the *pathos* on the judge for "impressions on his feelings make him wish it (the case) to be the better and what he wishes he also believes."<sup>10</sup> To the previously mentioned differences Quintilian adds that sometimes the two are of the same nature,

the one in a greater and the other in a less degree, as love, for instance, will be *pathos*, and friendship *ethos*, and sometimes of a different nature, as *pathos*, in a peroration, will excite the judges, and *ethos* soothe them.<sup>11</sup>

His definition of the *ethos* is worth quoting in full.

The *ethos*, of which we form a conception, and which we desire to find in speakers, is recommended, above all, by goodness, being not only mild and placid, but for the most part pleasing and polite, and amiable and attractive to the hearers; and the greatest merit in the expression of it, is, that it should seem to flow from the nature of the things and persons with which we are concerned so that the moral character of the speaker may clearly appear, and be recognized, as it were, in his discourse.<sup>12</sup>

The examination of these concepts may be taken out of the classical tradition by reference to the analysis made by Adams. Both are recognized as sentiments or impulses. *Pathos* he trans-

<sup>7</sup> Baldwin, C. S., *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), 58.

<sup>8</sup> Grant, M. A. and Fiske, G. C. "Cicero's *Orator* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXV (1924), 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-36.

<sup>10</sup> *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory*, translated by J. S. Watson (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913), I, VI, 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, VI, 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, VI, 13.



lates as passions or "tumultuous agitations . . . keen and forceful affections of the mind." These are adapted to control hearers, but they are momentary and have only occasional influence. These passions are considered individually as anger, fear, shame, envy, etc., and affect men as individuals. In contrast the *ethos* is defined as the system of habits, those "mild and orderly emotions . . . and peaceable impulses." These are employed to attract the hearers and their effects are constant, exercising a permanent influence. These habits affect men in classes and as Aristotle suggests they may be recognized in the young, the old, and the middle-aged; in the rich and the poor; in the powerful and the feeble.<sup>13</sup>

Volkman has pointed out that while the *ethos* is dependent on certain special qualities of character, it must in general correspond to the ideas of the listeners. Roth is cited in this connection.

The society of each country has its own peculiar and common inclinations, tastes, dislikes, and points of view, which manifest themselves in their usages and mode of life. On this account the orator must know how to speak so that not only may he not offend against the *mores civitatis*, but also that his auditors shall recognize the conformity of his *ethos* with theirs. But within the great circles, which surround all nations, the classes of society, not yet separated, but still peculiarly constituted in their nature, develop again different characters for themselves: the stages of age, rank, profession, property modify the general character of each nation again in peculiar fashion. And so, the orator must, in order to operate through his own character upon the listener, know how to appraise and turn to his own advantage the general as well as the particular in their characters.<sup>14</sup>

Volkman suggests that the effect of the *ethos* is a quiet attention and comprehension followed by a willing belief and confidence, quite different from the more powerful torrent-like effect of the *pathos*.<sup>15</sup>

The statement of Roth may be clarified by rephrasing it in a more definite sociological context. Within any group at any moment there are certain imperatives operative. These are necessary for if the group is to survive,

it must have ready-at-hand action patterns such as the practices, folkways, usages, conventions, mores, laws, and other prescriptive institutions; and it must have ready-at-hand automatic, and unquestioned frameworks of objective

<sup>13</sup> Adams, John Quincy, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory* (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1810), I, 377-378.

<sup>14</sup> Volkman, Richard, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1885), sec. 28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

and emotionalized meaning such as the systems of knowledge and belief, ideologies, religions, philosophies, moral systems, ceremonial celebrations, etc. . . .<sup>16</sup>

These imperatives forced upon and learned by the members of the society make up the culture pattern, *ethos*, or *Weltanschauung* of those members at any period. The speaker, then, who would exercise control by persuasion must not violate the "prescriptive institutions" of the audience which is to address. Indeed, he is forced, in so far as he wishes to influence that group, to accommodate his assertions and arguments, his attitude and behavior so as to conform with those already accepted. It is from this point of view that the famous dictum of W. H. Hamilton is to be understood.

If you would reform an institution, don't shock those you would convert with radical theories. Capture the symbols of the enemy and attack in the name of the thing you would amend.

This is the larger sense in which the classic rhetorical definition of the *ethos* as a persuasive force is to be understood, thus differentiating it from *pathos*, the effect of which is the direct excitation of emotion. *Ethos*, then, is a matter of adaptation to existing attitudes, *pathos*, a matter of arousing emotions.

## II. THE VARYING CONCEPTIONS OF EMOTIONAL APPEAL

Any attempt to trace the development and changes in the many specific items and minutiae of the doctrine of *pathos* as it is discussed in invention, arrangement, and style must face an infinitely complex task. The problem is not made difficult because of additive changes but primarily because of shifts in treatment, which result as the doctrine is enlarged or minimized in the schemes of the various treatises. Thus, for example, the differences in treatment with respect to these specific items in the classical tradition of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian are mainly matters of scope. Whereas each recognizes the primacy of emotional appeal in any practice of eloquence and in theory, the differences in treatment are essentially those of magnitude. Thus, Aristotle devotes an entire book to the concept while the other two writers are content with briefer descriptions. On the other hand, when one considers the larger matters of approach and orientation with respect to rhetorical theory as a whole, there are significant differences in the doctrine of emotional appeal.

<sup>16</sup> Woodward, James W., "The Relation of Personality Structure to the Structure of Culture," *American Sociological Review*, III (Oct., 1938), 639.

Further, there are marked differences in the definition of the place and function of the concept in rhetorical usage. In the following pages I shall attempt to indicate these major changes as they have appeared in the body of rhetorical theory.

A. *Approaches to the Doctrine of Pathos*: The history of rhetoric as it applies to *pathos* is broadly characterized in its approach by the method of analysis of Aristotle on the one hand, and by that of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* on the other.

With persuasion as the principal object of the art of rhetoric the bulk of Aristotle's treatise is made up of the analysis of the three means to that end. In such a system *pathos* is treated separately and individually as a distinctive phase of the process of persuasion. It is developed so that it may be conceived by itself as a particular part of the speaker's art. From such a point of view the rhetorician will devote particular study to the range of the several emotions so that each will be understood psychologically along with the practical measures necessary to evoke it. The most complete statement of this method up to the present is that of Aristotle, whose analysis of the fourteen emotions remains as the classic tradition. Solmsen has accurately described the procedure.

His treatment of each of these begins with a definition. He then proceeds to elaborate the implications of his definition and to describe the circumstances under which such *πάθη* are likely to arise and the types of men in whom they are likely to be aroused and against whom they may be directed. Throughout these chapters Aristotle is anxious to base every assertion either on the definition itself, on one of its component parts, or on something previously deduced from the definition.<sup>17</sup>

In short, what may be characterized as the Aristotelian approach is to be defined as the establishment of the theory of *pathos* as one of the significant means of persuasion, which of itself receives analysis.

The other tendency is to conceive of emotional appeal as a phase of the arrangement process. In this approach the emotions are considered with reference to their place primarily in the proem and peroration. In the sections of the treatises devoted to these parts of the speech advice is given concerning the excitation of only those emotions which are relevant. The earliest statement of this pro-

<sup>17</sup> Solmsen, Friedrich, "Aristotle and Cicero on the Orator's Playing upon the Feelings," *Classical Philology*, XXXIII (Oct., 1938), 393.

cedure is that in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* where the student is advised in the proem "to influence the minds of the hearers in his favor" and in the peroration in forensic speeches to win favor for himself and disfavor for his opponent through the use of the topics which give rise to friendship, pity, envy, and indignation.<sup>18</sup> In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, particularly when the cause is doubtful, the speaker will have to gain the good will of his hearers in the introduction, while in the peroration he will employ the appeal to mercy, pity, or hatred, as the case may require.<sup>19</sup> The advice is identical in the *De Inventione*.<sup>20</sup> In Quintilian the doctrine of *affectus* in the same way, has place only in the development of the *meros*, i.e., with attention to it given only as an element which appears in parts of the discourse.<sup>21</sup>

B. *The Functions of Emotional Appeal*: Any attempt to understand the role of emotional appeal in the speech process must consider the purpose and function of that role. Such purpose may be analyzed in terms of a psychological system or in terms of effect without explicit psychological identification. These analyses appear in the history of rhetoric, but there is no single point of view which prevails. I have been able to discern three different ways of looking at the part played by *pathos*.

1. *Pathos and Perception*: In Aristotle *pathos* is a means of persuasion coordinate with *ethos* and argument. The purpose is to affect the perception of the audience, "for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, and liking or hatred."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Rhetorica Ad Alexandrum*, translated by E. S. Forster, in *The Works of Aristotle*, XI, edited by W. D. Ross, 36, 1445a.

<sup>19</sup> *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, I, 5, 8; II, 16, 25; II, 30, 47. I am indebted to Professor Harry Caplan of Cornell University for the privilege of using his as yet unpublished translation of this work.

<sup>20</sup> In the *De Oratore* Cicero develops his system of *probationes*, similar to the Aristotelian three-fold *pisteis*. Here the theory of the *affectus* is treated apart from his analysis of the *partes orationis*. The definitions of the individual emotions are by no means extensively developed but the similarity between his definitions and those of Aristotle are apparent in at least two of them. See L. Laurand, *De M. Tulli Ciceronis stud. rhetor.* (Paris, 1907), 35. See Solmsen, *op. cit.*, 396-397.

<sup>21</sup> In addition Quintilian suggests that *pathos* may be employed briefly in the *narration* before the argument. There is also a place for it throughout the speech "but more sparingly." Nevertheless, there are even uses for it in the proof of particular points. See VI, 1, 51 ff. There is no separate treatment of *affectus* in the Aristotelian tradition in Quintilian.

<sup>22</sup> *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, I, 2, 1356a.

This thought is amplified by Aristotle thus:

The same thing does not appear the same to men when they are friendly and when they hate, nor when they are angry and when they are in gentle mood; in these different moods the same thing will appear either wholly different in kind, or different as to magnitude. To the friendly judge, the person about whom he is making a decision will seem either quite innocent or guilty of no great wrong; to the inimical judge, the same person will seem just the opposite. To the man that is eager and hopeful, the proposed object, if pleasant, seems a thing that will come to pass and will be good; to the man that is apathetic or disgruntled, the same object seems just the opposite.<sup>23</sup>

*Pathos* performs its function of creating an attitude in the hearers directly through material, form, and manner. This same function is, in general, that of *ethos*, in which attention is directed "to evincing a certain character," the method being a more indirect means of persuasion.<sup>24</sup>

2. *Pathos as a Linear Adjunct*: This view considers *pathos* an integral part of a total, connected persuasion process, in which *pathos* is but a necessary element. This function is clearly stated in Whately, for whom persuasion is a two-fold affair, depending first on *argument* in order to prove the expediency of the means proposed, and secondly, on *exhortation*, which involves "the excitement of man to adopt those means, by representing the end as sufficiently desirable."<sup>25</sup> In Day emotional appeal or excitation is but one part of a four-fold process.

Explanation precedes confirmation, as the truth must be understood before it can be believed; explanation and confirmation naturally precede excitation, as the object of feeling must be perceived and generally be believed to exist before feeling can be awakened; and persuasion properly follows the other three processes, as in order to effect a change of will, the feelings are generally to be aroused, the judgment convinced, and the understanding informed.<sup>26</sup>

However, Day recognizes that excitation can occur alone, as for example, in demonstrative discourses and in much of pulpit oratory.<sup>27</sup> Hepburn's theory provides for a dual functioning within the persuasion process: "In order to persuade it is necessary to enlighten

<sup>23</sup> *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, II, 1, 1377b-1378a.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 1377b.

<sup>25</sup> Whately, Richard, *Elements of Rhetoric* (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1894), 113.

<sup>26</sup> Day, Henry N., *The Art of Discourse* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1867), 50.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

and convince the understanding and to move the passions." The action proposed, its nature, and aim, must be presented clearly, then the connection must be made between that action and the hearer's duty, interest, or happiness. This awakening of their wants is the emotional appeal.<sup>28</sup>

With Aristotle *pathos* was considered as a mode of persuasion operative either with the other means or separately. In Whately, Day, and Hepburn this individual functioning disappears and *pathos* becomes but one phase in a connected persuasion process.

3. *The Conviction—Persuasion Duality*: The duality is an outgrowth of the analysis of the mind into a set of faculties in which the *understanding* and the *will* are conceived as the powers or actions of the mind. This theory makes possible a separate approach to each. If there is a different phase within the mental organization, limited to each of these elements, it then follows that it is possible to appeal to the understanding to produce conviction or to appeal to the will to produce persuasion.<sup>29</sup> This separation is clearly made in Campbell. To produce conviction the arguments must merely be presented so

<sup>28</sup> Hepburn, A. D., *Manual of English Rhetoric* (Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle and Company, 1875), 231-232.

<sup>29</sup> In this connection Coleridge has given a useful explanation of the distinction between persuasion and conviction: "It is among the feeblenesses of our nature that we are often, to a certain degree, acted on by stories, gravely asserted, of which we do most religiously disbelieve every syllable, nay, which we perhaps know to be false. The truth is that images and thoughts possess a power in and of themselves, independent of that act of judgment or understanding by which we affirm or deny the existence of a reality correspondent to them. Such is the ordinary state of the mind in dreams. It is not strictly accurate to say that we believe our dreams to be actual while we are dreaming. We neither believe it, nor disbelieve it. With the will the comparing power is suspended, and without the comparing power, any act of judgment, whether affirmation or denial, is impossible. The forms and thoughts act merely by their own inherent power, and the strong feelings at times apparently connected with them are, in point of fact, bodily sensations which are the causes or occasions of the images; not (as when we are awake) the effects of them.' This theory, that thoughts and images, acting by their own inherent power, may induce action, is important. If accepted, it means that the speaker, by rhetorical means, can suspend the judgment and understanding of his audience, and cause them to act contrary to their convictions. Images can overthrow belief. Whether persuasion and conviction are psychologically separate cannot be decided here; but it is interesting to note on which side of the controversy Coleridge takes his stand." Howes, Raymond F., "Coleridge and Rhetoric," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*, XII (June, 1926), 153-54.



that they may be understood, attended to, and remembered by the hearer. Persuasion to some particular action or conduct can only be achieved when the hearer is interested and moved. Thus, persuasion is the process of emotional appeal. The distinction may be stated as the difference between achieving recognition of the proposal and activation to its accomplishment.<sup>30</sup> Blair's analysis is an exact reproduction of this dichotomy.<sup>31</sup> Coppee distinguishes between instruction, which conveys the truth to hearers, and that which influences the will, leading the hearer to acknowledge or do something so as to affect his conduct or character.<sup>32</sup> A. S. Hill differentiates between belief and action. The former results from argument and the latter from persuasion, in which the active principles or feelings of the hearer are influenced. The dual conception is apparent in the following example:

To make a millionaire contribute liberally to a public charity, it is not enough to convince him that the object is a worthy one; it is necessary to make him feel its claims upon him.<sup>33</sup>

For Theremin the duality is defined as follows: the former denotes the production of the idea in consciousness, while the latter refers to its elevation and transformation into affection. The process of persuasion is differentiated from "the whole philosophic connection of the thoughts of the orator."<sup>34</sup> For Doyle *pathos* is conceived as a lever to move the audience to action.<sup>35</sup> Baker's statement, following that of Hill, is that the methods of conviction have as their end the production of agreement, whereas the methods of persuasion seek "to produce action as a result of such agreement." This persua-

<sup>30</sup> Campbell, George, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., and John Fairbairn, 1816), I, 173-180.

<sup>31</sup> Blair, Hugh, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1812), II, 382.

<sup>32</sup> Coppee, Henry, *Elements of Rhetoric* (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler and Co., 1859), 40-41, 237.

<sup>33</sup> Hill, Adams Sherman, *The Principles of Rhetoric* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898), 237.

<sup>34</sup> Theremin, Francis, *Eloquence A Virtue; or Outlines of a Systematic Rhetoric*, translated by W. G. T. Shedd (New York: John Wiley, 1850), 88-90.

<sup>35</sup> Doyle, F. C., *An Introduction to the Study of Rhetoric* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893), 31-34.

sion is essential when argument is unable to overcome prejudice and established habits.<sup>36</sup>

This duality, redefining the function of emotional appeal as designed to effect a change in attitude and conduct, does not appear in the classical conception. The process of persuasion, in which *pathos* was but one element, had as its purpose the control of conduct, in which all the available instruments were employed. There was no thought in that tradition of the necessity of clearness, attention to, and recognition of the material as a distinct mental process. These were merely necessary adjuncts of the speaker's art and were not distinguishable from either of the three modes of persuasion, each of which, if there was to be effect, had to be clear and understood. It was a sense of this necessity that led Theremin, even though he subscribed to the duality, to argue that neither of these two main functions alone is the task of the orator, but that the speaker's conviction should be persuasive and his persuasion convincing. If this line of argument is valid, it seems possible to make the evaluative conclusion that the dichotomy in terms of *invention* adds nothing to a more complete conception of what is involved in persuasion, and indeed, obscures the total picture of what is involved.

C. *The Enlargement of the Doctrine of Pathos*: In his rhetoric Aristotle separated and distinguished between the emotions and the *topoi* which give rise to them, and the *topoi* which are to be used in the deliberative speech to prove the goodness or expediency of the end proposed. Parallel with the description of these advantages (i.e., *topoi* of the deliberative speech), he set out the causes of action and the analysis of things pleasant which are to provide *topoi* for accusation and defense. In short, there is here the distinction between lines of argument for *pathos* and

... the *πίστεις* (*pisteis*) proper, or direct proofs, which have been analyzed as *εἶδη* under the three heads of deliberative, forensic, and declamatory rhetoric, and made to supply "popular principles" *δοξαί* and "premisses" *προτάσεις* for the construction of rhetorical arguments (enthymemes).<sup>37</sup>

These three subjects, happiness, pleasure, and the emotions, are developed independently; the first two as parts of Aristotle's devel-

<sup>36</sup> Baker, George Pierce, *The Principles of Argumentation* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1902), 343-344.

<sup>37</sup> Cope, E. M., *An Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1867), 251.

opment of special topics for the Deliberative and Forensic kinds of speeches respectively in Book I, and the third (emotions) receiving consideration in Book II. It will be of interest at this point to set out the constituent elements of the three in order to determine their interrelation and the elements common to each.

Happiness: good birth, many friends, good friends, wealth, good children, many children, happy old age, health, beauty, strength, stature, athletic ability, fame, honor, good luck, virtue.

Pleasure: habits, release from restraint, desires, memory and anticipation, revenge, victory, games, debate, honor and reputation, friendship, repetition, change, learning and wonder, beneficence, artistic imitation, congeners, self-love, flattery, children, wisdom and authority, ambition, sport, relaxation, laughter.

Emotions: anger, mildness, friendship, hatred, fear, boldness, shame, shamelessness, kindness, unkindness, pity, indignation, envy, emulation, contempt.

It should be noted that such elements as revenge, friendship, and ambition as constituents of pleasure have their counterparts in the emotions of anger, friendship or love, and emulation. Such factors as fame and honor, friends and children, strength and athletic ability, wisdom, beneficence are common both to happiness and to pleasure.

Aristotle nowhere in the *Rhetoric* expressly indicates a relationship between these three subjects, the *topoi* of happiness for the deliberative speech, the *topoi* of the pleasant for the forensic speech, and the *topoi* of the emotions for all speeches. However, there is an implicit connection between them in terms of their individual definitions. Happiness, in one of the working definitions is taken to mean "the pleasantest life, with secure enjoyment thereof."<sup>38</sup> Then, "all actions which men do of themselves are either good or apparently good, or else pleasant or apparently pleasant."<sup>39</sup> This statement would suggest a clear demarcation between what is good (of which happiness is an element)<sup>40</sup> and what is pleasant. But it should be noticed that happiness is "the pleasantest life." Thus Aristotle finds certain elements common to the *topoi* of both the deliberative and forensic speeches. There is yet a final connection between pleasure and the emotions. "Pleasure is a certain motion of the soul . . . to be pleased consists in experiencing a certain feeling."<sup>41</sup> At this point Aristotle indicates that pleasure is, or is accompanied by feeling. The

<sup>38</sup> *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, I, 5, 1360b.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 10, 1369b.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 6, 1362b.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 11, 1369b-1370a.

emotions are "those states attended by pain or pleasure."<sup>42</sup> Here, then, is clear statement for a common basis between pleasure and the emotions. It seems possible, then, to conclude that Aristotle had some recognition of the relationship between the *topoi* of exhortation, dissuasion, accusation, defense, and *pathos*. Such a relation would appear inevitable since both the *pisteis* and *pathos* are developed as parallel elements of persuasion, with persuasion being understood as including the whole process of influencing an audience. But Aristotle, himself, does not combine them and give them consideration under a common head. Each plays a distinct role in the persuasive process, and each is treated separately.

In order better to understand the use to which the deliberative *topoi* are put, an examination of two texts will be made here. This analysis is presented simply to make clear that the elements of *pisteis* are employed solely for purposes of argument in the various kinds of speeches without reference to their pathetic effects.

In the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* there are three genera of oratory, deliberative, epideictic, and forensic, expressed in seven ways, persuasion, dissuasion, eulogy, vituperation, accusation, defense and inquiry.<sup>43</sup>

In private conversations and public harangues there is most use of persuasion and dissuasion. The former is defined as "an exhortation to some purpose or speech or action." Persuasion can only take place when the speaker shows that those things to which he exhorts satisfy certain specified desiderata. For dissuasion the speaker simply pursues the opposite course, showing that the desiderata do not qualify. These constitute the appeals in the deliberate speech.

1. "That which is *just* is the unwritten custom of all or the majority of men which draws a distinction between what is honorable and what is base. These customs include the honouring of parents, doing good to one's friends, and returning good to one's benefactors."<sup>44</sup>

2. "Law is a common agreement made by the community, which ordains in writing how the citizens ought to act under every kind of circumstance."

3. "*Expediency* is the safeguarding of existing advantages, or the acquisition of those not already possessed, or the riddance of existing disadvantages, or the prevention of harm which threatens to occur . . . It applies to strength, beauty, health, courage, wisdom, justice, friends, wealth, property."

<sup>42</sup> *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, II, 1, 1378a.

<sup>43</sup> *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, I, 1, 1421b.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

4. "Honourable things are those from which good repute and creditable distinction will accrue to the doers."
5. "Pleasant things are those which cause joy."
6. "Easy things are those which are accomplished with the least expenditure of time, trouble and money."
7. "Practicable things are all those which admit of performance."
8. "Necessary things are those the execution of which does not depend upon us but takes place as it were by some necessity divine or human."<sup>45</sup>

Persuasion, then, is achieved as these arguments or appeals are employed to give weight to the acceptance of the speaker's propositions. The method is a direct one. The speaker "must show that the things to which he exhorts are just, lawful, expedient, honorable, pleasant, easy of accomplishment, practicable and necessary."<sup>46</sup>

Leonard Cox points out that in the *confirmation* of a deliberative speech where the purpose is to "exorte any man to do a thyng/ or else to forsake it," the persuasion or dissuasion "must be set out of the places of honisty/ profyte/ easynes/ or difficulty."<sup>47</sup> These are the important lines of argument and Cox's treatment of them does not suggest that their application in a speech will result in the arousal of the emotions of the hearers. They will, however, serve to persuade or dissuade according to the necessities of the situation. An example of his analysis might be of interest.

In honesty are comprehended all vertues/ as wysedom/ iustice/ due love to God/ and to our parentes/ lyberality/ pyty/ constance/ temperance. And therefore he that wyll for the conforing of his purpose declare and prove that it is honest and commendable that he entendeth to persuade hym: behoveth to have perfyte knowledge of the natures of vertues. And all so to have in redy remembrance sentences bothe of scripture and of philosophy/ as oratours and poetes/ and besyde these examples of historye/ for the garnysshyng of his maters.<sup>48</sup>

There are similar definitions of the "places" of "utilite," "profyte" and "easynes."<sup>49</sup>

Briefly then, in both the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* and the *Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke* these *topoi* (*pisteis*) are to be used merely for exhortation or dissuasion. They are assigned no other function. The conception of *pisteis*, together with the separate analysis of

<sup>45</sup> *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, I, 1, 1422a.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1421b.

<sup>47</sup> Cox, Leonard, *The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*, edited by Frederic Ives Carpenter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1899), 69.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

*pathos* which was apparent in Aristotle, is, then, the early position of which notice should be taken.

1. The first shift in the interpretation of the function of the deliberative arguments that I have been able to find appears in the sixteenth century in the *Elementorum Rhetorices* of Melanchthon. With him the commonplaces concerning the virtues (the honorable and the useful) and the vices (the base and harmful) give rise to the emotions of affection and hate. Emotional appeal here results from the deliberative and epideictic *topoi*.<sup>50</sup> Wilson is more explicit. "He that labours to exhort, doth stirre affection." When the speaker has exhortation as his purpose, the "places" to be employed include hope of victory and renown, the fear of shame, and the greatness of reward.<sup>51</sup> Thus, Wilson does not observe the separation of *pisteis* and *pathos*, but he has the latter resulting from the former. Similarly, Farnaby suggests that those things which are held great by nature and use, referring to the conceptions of charity, honorableness, and usefulness, are the means whereby the emotions are to be moved.<sup>52</sup> The anonymous author of *The Lady's Rhetorick* describes the function of deliberative speaking as one which turns the mind, commands the heart, governs the will, tames the passions, and moves to anger fear and hope. To effect these ends the speaker is to employ the lines of argument which grow out of the conceptions of honesty, facility, usefulness, and pleasure.<sup>53</sup> In this rhetoric there is the union of the constituents of both the deliberative and forensic *topoi*, the effect of which is emotional. In these four treatises the apparent Aristotelian distinction between the materials of argument and those of emotion is broken down, so that the *topoi* of the former become the means of the latter. There is, moreover, a more significant difference to be observed. Whereas the Aristotelian doctrine of *pathos* provides specific lines of argument for the arousal of specific emotions, the later doctrine merely employs the deliberative, epideictic, and forensic *topoi* to arouse the emotions in general. In each of the

<sup>50</sup> Melanchthon, Philip, *Elementorum Rhetorices Libri Duo*, in K. G. Bretschneider, *Corpus Reformatorum* (Halis Saxonum: C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1846), col. 454.

<sup>51</sup> Wilson, Thomas, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, edited by G. H. Mair (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909), 63.

<sup>52</sup> Farnaby, Thomas, *Index Rhetoricus et Oratoreus* (London: Philemonis Stephani, 1654), 30.

<sup>53</sup> *The Lady's Rhetorick* (London: F. Taylor, 1707), 21-22.



treatises cited in the sections devoted to *pathos* and exhortation there is to be found no analysis of *individual* emotions.

2. Cope has paraphrased the Aristotelian definition of exhortation in these words: "When the speaker exhorts or encourages a course of action, he advises it because it is 'better,' more to the interest of the audience."<sup>54</sup> It was because of this functioning that Aristotle provided the speaker with an analysis of the *good*. Seemingly related to the conception of the *good* and its opposites is a variant of both the doctrines of the deliberative *topoi* and the *topoi* which evoke the emotions. This variant is a redefinition of the emotions as the outgrowth of the perception of good and evil and represents a second shift in interpretation. There are in this analysis no emotions whose source is not traced to the primary desire for well-being or happiness with its counterpart the aversion of unhappiness and disadvantage. This changed view of the origin of the emotions is to be found in the rhetoric of Lamy, for whom all emotions evolve from the basic emotions of admiration and contempt, whose objects are respectively present good and meanness and error.<sup>55</sup> Similarly Lawson emphasizes the role of the desire of happiness in the life of the individual. Everything which seems to contribute to the well-being of the individual is liked, whereas those things which thwart that state are disliked. From these basic states are derived all the emotions.<sup>56</sup> A sense of this affective development may be gathered from the following:

If the Good be absent and probable, we are affected by Hope; if Evil by Fear. If the Good be present by Joy; if Evil by Grief. Good lost, raiseth Sorrow, Regret; obtained, Joy. If it be pursued by others together with us, Emulation; if obtained by another, oftentimes it excites Envy; if by the Unworthy, Indignation. If we have sustained Evil, we feel Resentment; which continuing becomes Revenge.<sup>57</sup>

The most complete statement of this doctrine is that of Coppers, who suggests that since pleasure and pain are consequences of the emotions, these responses arise from the apprehension of good and evil in objects and presentations. Thus, from the apprehension of good in its various time-states there result, love, desire, and joy,

<sup>54</sup> Cope, *op. cit.*, 169.

<sup>55</sup> Lamy, Bernard, *The Art of Speaking* (London: W. Taylor, 1708), 138-140.

<sup>56</sup> Lawson, John, *Lectures Concerning Oratory* (Dublin: George Faulkner, 1758), 155.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

and from the similar apprehension of evil there result hatred, anger, aversion, and pain. Hope and despair grow out of the perception of the difficulty of attaining good. Fear and courage arise from the perception of the difficulty of avoiding evil. From these *simple passions* all others are derived as variations in intensity. Thus, intense hatred becomes horror, and excess courage becomes rashness.<sup>58</sup>

3. It was noted above (in 1) in the rhetorics of Melanchthon, Wilson, and Farnaby that the elements of happiness and pleasure aroused the emotions in general, without statement of specific emotions. In Lamy, Lawson, and Coppens (as we have seen in 2) the gamut of individual emotions was derived from the interpretation of good and evil. In the nineteenth century, however, I find two treatises which develop the theory that specific emotions grow out of the ideas of happiness and virtue. In method the two treatises to be mentioned here differ only in the source of the derivation of the emotions. Theremin recognizes three ideas from which the several affections are generated. Thus, from the idea of duty arises zeal. From the idea of virtue come the affections of love, friendship, esteem, admiration, emulation, and contempt. Associated with the idea of happiness are the affections of hope, gratitude, pity, fear, and the abhorrence of evil.<sup>59</sup> Theremin has here fused the conceptions of the subjects of deliberative and epideictic oratory with the *pathos*. Each emotion is to be aroused through the employment of the *topoi* of happiness and the virtues. In much the same way Bascom and Morgan indicate that the ideas of or the impulses to right, pleasure, and interest are the courses of action and the basis of the emotions. The sense of right is accompanied by the feelings of approval, guilt, and shame with the affections of love, benevolence, pity, gratitude, indignation, developing parallel. Pleasure rests on the appetites of

<sup>58</sup> Coppens, Charles, *The Art of Oratorical Composition* (New York: Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, 1885), 174-175.

<sup>59</sup> Theremin, *op. cit.*, 91-96. Similar in content and in statement to the doctrine of Theremin is that of Robinson. With the latter the basic impulses are also duty, virtue, and happiness, whose manifestations give rise to all the emotions. The essential agreement with Theremin may be recognized in the definition of the emotions. "The idea of duty yet to be fulfilled awakens zeal; of duty heretofore performed, complacency; of duty which another has omitted, anger; of duty as discharged by another, approbation. The idea of virtue as an attribute of character engenders admiration; as exemplified in individuals, good will, esteem, friendship, or even love for them and emulation of their excellence." Robinson, W. C., *Forensic Oratory* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1893), 15.

the body and the tastes of the mind and upon the passions as they refer to the self. Disturbance of the self gives rise to the malevolent passions of anger, hatred, envy, jealousy. Under interest are included the passions of joy, sorrow, hope, and fear.<sup>60</sup>

4. The final stage in the enlargement of the doctrine of emotional appeal may be understood in its basic conception in the following citation from Campbell.

Are we then to class the virtues among the passions? By no means. But without entering into a discussion of the difference, which would be foreign to our purpose, let it suffice to observe, that they have this in common with passion. They necessarily imply an habitual aversion to the contrary; a veneration for such a character, an abhorrence of such another. They are, therefore, though not passions, so closely related to them, that they are properly considered as motives to action, being equally capable of giving an impulse to the will.<sup>61</sup>

While recognizing the distinction between the virtues and the passions, Campbell has also asserted their relation in terms of a common effect: each is able to affect the will; each is a motive to action. With this redefinition in terms of function, the Aristotelian distinction, between the *topoi* peculiar to deliberative, epideictic, and forensic argument, and those peculiar to *pathos*, disappears. All of these *topoi* become means of persuasion and emotional appeal at the same time. In one sense, it may be observed, the breakdown of the distinction is a return to the Aristotelian theory, in that the *topoi* are simply means of persuasion. But, it is equally obvious that *pathos*, as a unique purpose of the persuasive process, disappears, and as such loses both its peculiar place and individualized treatment.

The fusion of all the *topoi* of persuasion and their consideration as instruments in affecting the will has resulted in renaming them variously. The following is a list of the names which occur in those treatises in which the will-function appears: principles of action, human susceptibilities, free impulses, active dispositions, active impulses, sensibilities, the tendencies to overt action, the conative powers, desirable ends, advantages, inducements, springs of human action, active principles, natural dispositions, motives, desires.

Whately includes as his "active principles" the appetites, desires, affections, and the moral faculty.<sup>62</sup> The "conative powers" in Hep-

<sup>60</sup> Bascom, John and Morgan, H. H., *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1888), 40-43.

<sup>61</sup> Campbell, *op. cit.*, I, 179.

<sup>62</sup> Whately, *op. cit.*, 120-121.

burn's rhetoric include the desires, the affections, self-love, the sense of duty, reverence for the moral law, and the religious principles.<sup>63</sup> The most complete statement that I have been able to find of the inclusion of the *topoi* of argument and *pathos* under the head of active principles, the effect of which is emotional appeal and persuasion, is to be found in the *English Composition and Rhetoric* of Alexander Bain. His division is described as follows: Present or actual pleasures and pains, the ideas of future pleasure and pains, objects representing aggregates of pleasures and pains, impassioned objects or ends, the pleasures and pains of others, and sympathy.<sup>64</sup> Under these five heads Bain includes all of the *topoi* which appear in the Aristotelian analysis of the means of persuasion.

This last stage in the interpretation of *pathos* may be characterized as one in which the Aristotelian distinction between *pisteis* and *pathos* is obliterated. With the theory of persuasion based upon achieving an influence on the *will* and exciting the individual to action, emotional appeal in the strict sense disappears. The basic emotions, including those analyzed by Aristotle, tend to disappear, the emphasis being placed upon the constituents of happiness, pleasure, and virtue. The resulting doctrine of persuasion is then one limited to the two modes of persuasion, *pisteis* and *ethos*.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Hepburn, *op. cit.*, 237.

<sup>64</sup> Bain, Alexander, *English Composition and Rhetoric* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1890), 244-245.

<sup>65</sup> It may be explained here that this enlarged doctrine of emotional appeal is in essence the modern doctrine of persuasion. While analysis of contemporary texts is beyond the scope of this study, it is pertinent to note that the contemporary texts continue what is essentially the tradition of Campbell, Whately, Bain, *etc.* Modern theory is thus substantially characterized by the absence of treatment of *pathos* in the classical sense. As evidence I might cite the lines of argument for persuasion as they are developed in certain representative treatises.

a) *Fundamental interests*. Life, health, property, acquiring power, reputation, sentiments, affections, pleasure. Winans, James A., *Speech-making*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938), 146.

b) *Types of motive appeal* (human wants). Acquisition and saving, adventure, companionship, creating, curiosity, destruction, fear, fighting, imitation, independence, loyalty, personal enjoyment, power and authority, pride, reverence or worship, revulsion, sex attraction, sympathy. Monroe, Alan H. *Principles and Types of Speech* (New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1935), 40-52.

c) *Factors in human motivation*. The desire for approval, shame, sympathy, unquestioned premises, loyalty, example, rivalry, non-social environ-

D. *Conclusions*: The following statements are presented as the principal findings of this study relative to the conceptions of emotional appeal in rhetorical theory with special reference to invention, arrangement, and style.

1. The doctrine of *pathos* receives treatment either as a separate mode of persuasion, or as a phase of the *meros*.

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mental factors, internal factors. Hayworth, Donald, *Public Speaking* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1935), 177-178.

d) *Basic desires*. The desire for self-preservation, the desire to reproduce, the desire to strengthen or preserve one's ego, the desire to promote the good of others. Sarett, Lew and Foster, W. T., *Basic Principles of Speech* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), 490-95.

e) *Impelling wants*. Self-preservation and welfare, welfare of others, wealth, reputation, leadership, honor, duty, fairness, pleasure, artistic desires. Brigrance, William Norwood, *Speech Composition* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1937), 181-190.

f) *Vital interests*, (general wants). To be healthy, to acquire property, to have power, to have a good reputation, to have friends, to avoid fear, to love and protect others, to imitate or to differ from others, to have recreation, to satisfy our tastes. Sanford, W. P. and Yeager, W. H., *Practical Business Speaking* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Second Edition, 1937), 52-58.

A word might be said here concerning the necessity for a redefinition of the relation between the *topoi* of *pisteis* and *pathos*. The original Aristotelian distinction between these elements and the subsequent obliteration in modern public speaking theory has already been pointed out. But with due recognition of the changes in interpretation the question may now be submitted with a view to solution. It is in the province of this paper merely to indicate the nature of the problem. A final statement of the doctrine of *pathos* must include an analysis of the relation between the factors that give rise to happiness, pleasure, virtue, and the emotions. It may well be that the distinction is merely arbitrary and convenient, that there is no difference in terms of effect. It may be found that Campbell instead of confusing the purposes and methods involved in persuasion, by fusing argument and emotional appeal gave to the speaker a unitary principle with which to search for "persuasives." In any event it is a problem in the philosophy of speech to reconstruct a satisfactory theory of persuasion in which the modes of persuasion are adequately and systematically interrelated. For purposes of criticism in the analysis of printed speeches I am satisfied that the critic will do well to recognize that every presentation pursues certain lines of argument which can be defined. It is more important that the critic define the argument as one which involves the notion of fame, wealth, health, fear, anger, or pity, and define it accurately, than that he be concerned whether fame, wealth, health, are *topoi* of happiness or *topoi* of the emotions. In short, no matter what or how the relationship of *pisteis* and *pathos* is ultimately defined, it is imperative that the critic have an accurate sense of the elements which compose the "goods" and emotions.

2. Within the totality of rhetorical theory there have been three ways of looking at the function of pathos, i.e., as a means of affecting the perception, as a linear adjunct in a total, connected persuasion process, and finally, as a phase of the conviction-persuasion duality, where its role is defined in connection with the *will*.

3. In his analysis of the modes of persuasion Aristotle had distinguished between the *topoi* of *pisteis* (to be used as arguments in deliberative, forensic, and epideictic situations), and the *topoi* of *pathos* (lines of argument whose effect is to arouse the emotions). The separation of these conceptions characterized the early periods, but from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, rhetorical theory demonstrates successive attempts at synthesis. At first, the *pisteis* are defined as giving rise to an emotional state in general, then, specific emotions are derived from the ideas of good and evil; a third stage represents the origin of the emotions in the ideas of duty, happiness, and virtue, and the final stage is the enlargement of the doctrine of *pathos* to include or to fuse both the *topoi* of *pisteis* and *pathos*.



# AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE PITCH CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOICE DURING THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTION\*

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BY MEANS of the experimental procedure described below, objective data have been secured which permit description of the characteristics of the voice during the simulation of emotion. The present report is concerned with an analysis of the pitch characteristics. Investigations of time, intensity and the differences between good and poor simulations, as revealed by these data, will be the subjects of subsequent reports.

Information regarding the characteristics of the voice during emotional expression derive largely from five researches, those of Gray,<sup>1</sup> Lynch,<sup>2</sup> Skinner,<sup>3</sup> Cowan,<sup>4</sup> and Ortleb.<sup>5</sup> The present experiment differs from these in three respects:

1. Simulations of five different, specific emotional states were studied.
2. The same context was employed in all the simulations, permitting direct comparison of the results of analysis without the necessity of accounting for differences in material.
3. The degree to which the simulations were satisfactory examples of the specific emotions concerned was determined experimentally by means of a technique of observer identification.

\* Preliminary report published in *Science*, LXXXVIII, [1938], 382-383.

<sup>1</sup> Gray, G. W. "An experimental study of the vibrato in speech," *Q.J.S.E.*, XII, [1926], 296-333.

<sup>2</sup> Lynch, G. "A phonophotographic study of trained and untrained voices reading factual and dramatic material," *Arch. Sp.*, I, [1934], 9-25.

<sup>3</sup> Skinner, E. R. "A calibrated recording of the pitch, force and quality of vocal tones, etc.," *SPEECH MONOG.*, II, [1935], 81-137.

<sup>4</sup> Cowan, J. M. "Pitch and intensity characteristics of stage speech," *Arch. Sp.*, I, [1936], Suppl., 1-92.

<sup>5</sup> Ortleb, R. "An objective study of emphasis in oral reading of emotional and unemotional material," *SPEECH MONOG.*, IV, [1937], 56-74.

## I. EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

A test passage, upon which could be imposed various meanings according to the manner of vocal interpretation, but which avoided as much as possible any specific affective meaning, was written. Contempt, Anger, Fear, Grief, and Indifference were the emotions selected for study. Five separate dramatic speeches of approximately 250 words in length, each of which favored intense expression of one of the above emotions, were written. Toward the end of each speech was inserted the test passage, and the meaning of adjacent sentences arranged to make the occurrence of the passage logical at that point. The total selection written for Fear is reproduced below as a sample. The test passage common to all five selections is italicized.

A boy in his teens has been sentenced to die for murder. At dawn of the day of his execution, as his cell slowly becomes gray, he is seized with a fit of uncontrollable terror. He cries:

THE BOY: Oh, God! Please don't let them take me away now. Let me have one more day . . . one more hour . . . to live. I don't deserve hanging for the thing I did. I didn't know then that a man's life meant so much. But I know now, I know, and please forgive me. I don't know how it happened. Honest I don't. One minute he was standing there, and the next minute there was a smoking gun in my hand. I don't know how it got there. You've got to believe me this time, God, if you never did before. You've got to believe it in time to keep them from hanging me. Every night you ask me how it happened. But I don't know! I don't know! I can't remember! *There is no other answer. You've asked me that question a thousand times, and my reply has always been the same. It always will be the same.* You can't figure out things like that. They just happen. And afterwards you're sorry. I'm that way now. I'm sorry. Oh, God, stop them . . . quick . . . before it's too late!

Six competent actors from the University Theatre, all of whom had demonstrated versatility in interpretation, served as subjects. All six were judged to employ a medium pitch level in casual speech, and none had extreme voice quality or articulatory deviations. Each was allowed one week in which to study the materials. At the end of that time phonograph records were made of their readings of the five passages. No subject was allowed to hear his own recordings, or the recordings or performances of other subjects, until all data had been secured.<sup>6</sup> In anticipation of the judgment procedure, the

<sup>6</sup> Several times during the recording the experimenters deemed a given reading to be an unsatisfactory portrayal of the emotion concerned. In such an instance the subject was informed that the portrayal was unconvincing, and was asked to repeat the reading. He was not instructed, however, as to methods by which it might be improved.

subjects were cautioned not to discuss the experiment with friends, nor to divulge the emotions being studied.

In order to determine the relative effectiveness of the portrayals a technique of audience recognition was used. The 30 records to be analysed, five readings by each of six subjects, were played in random order before a class of 64 advanced speech students. In addition to these 30 recordings, five ambiguous readings were introduced into the random order to prevent the observers from deducing that only five different emotions were being studied; these judgments were discarded. Each observer was provided with a list of 12 emotional states, as follows: Amusement, anger, astonishment, contempt, doubt, elation, embarrassment, fear, grief, indifference, jealousy, love. From this list he was asked to select, as each record was played, the term which named most accurately the emotion being portrayed. A high-quality phonograph was used for reproduction, and the gross loudness level was kept as nearly constant as possible for all the emotions. By means of this technique it was possible to evaluate each portrayal or group of portrayals in terms of the percentage of the observers able to identify the emotion attempted.<sup>7</sup>

In the case of this first report of the series, which deals only with the pitch factor, physical analysis of the readings was accomplished by means of an instrument for sound wave photography and fundamental frequency measurement from phonograph recordings, originated by Metfessel,<sup>8</sup> and modified successively by Simon,<sup>9</sup> Lewis and Tiffin,<sup>10</sup> and Cowan.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Preliminary judgments were secured from a small group of trained observers in an attempt to use the method of paired comparisons. As with the subjects, this group also was requested not to divulge the particular emotions being investigated. The observers were asked to select the one of two portrayals in each pair which was the more expressive of the emotion concerned. The emotion was named. These observers reported that they could not make confident judgments of the type requested when they knew in advance what emotion was being expressed, but tended rather, in the words of one observer, to judge "in terms of the total amount of general emotionality."

<sup>8</sup> Metfessel, M. "Technique for objective studies of the vocal art," *Psychol. Monog.*, XXXVI, [1926], No. 1, 1-40.

<sup>9</sup> Simon, C. T. "The variability of consecutive wave lengths in vocal and instrumental sounds," *Psychol. Monog.*, XXXVI, [1926], No. 1, 41-83.

<sup>10</sup> Lewis, D. and Tiffin, J. "A psychophysical study of individual differences in speaking ability," *Arch. Sp. I.*, [1934], 43-60.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*

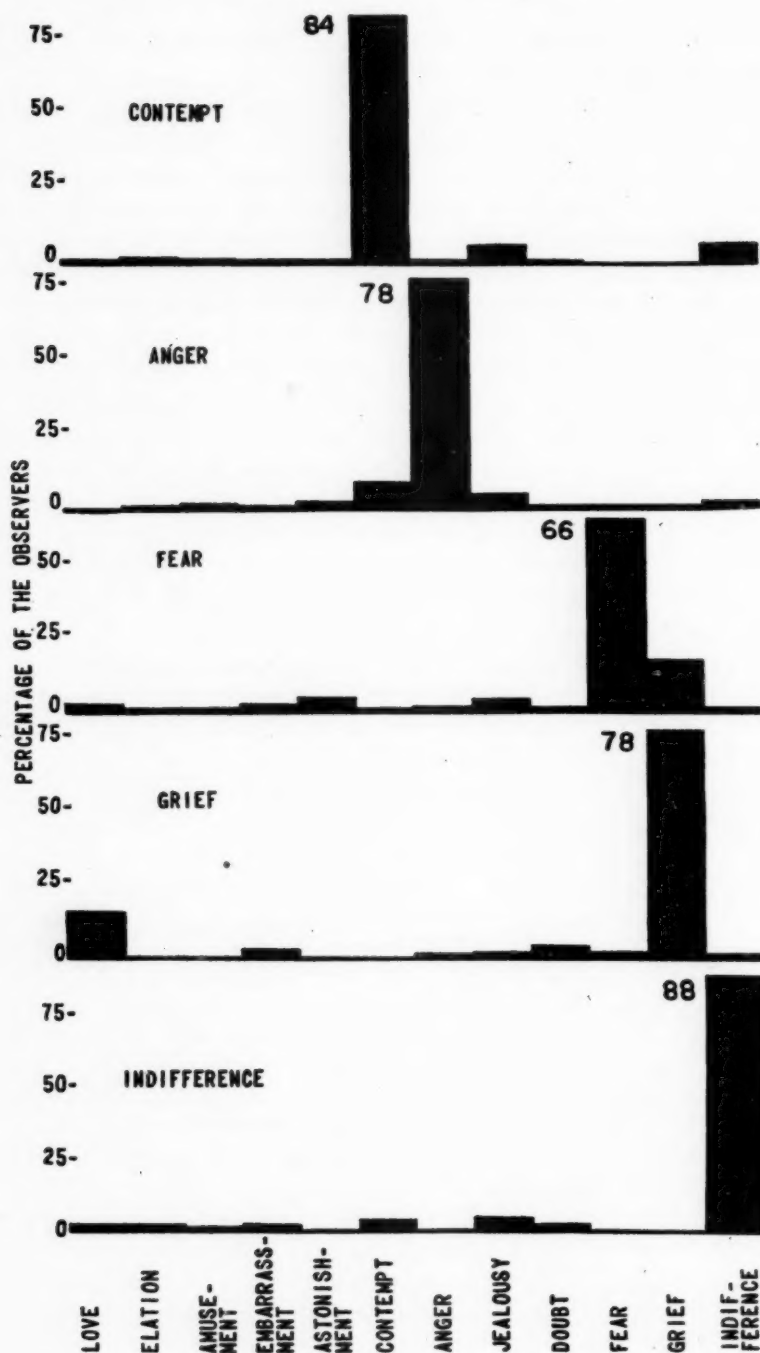


FIGURE I  
Distributions of Identifications of the Simulated Emotions by Observers.

## II. RESULTS

*Judgments of the Observers.*

Figure I shows the distribution of the identifications by the observers, the height of the bar representing percentage of the observers, while the emotions from which selections were made are listed along the base line. In this graph all six portrayals of each emotion are grouped. The most striking feature of Figure I is that all of the emotions are seen to have been recognized correctly a large percentage of the time. When it is recalled that context cues to the emotions were eliminated by the use of identical materials for all, and that all other factors were held as nearly constant as possible, it may be concluded that the portrayals are highly satisfactory samples of the emotions to be studied. Figure I shows also that when mistaken

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATIONS BY OBSERVERS OF EMOTIONS  
SIMULATED BY THE SIX SUBJECTS

	<i>Subjects</i>						A. M.
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Contempt	73	80	94	92	78	89	84
Anger	73	68	78	76	77	98	78
Fear	33	52	89	92	37	95	66
Grief	73	53	94	91	84	72	78
Indifference	91	94	86	88	80	89	88
A. M.	69	69	88	88	71	89	79

identifications were made the confusion most frequently was with emotions having superficial similarity. Contempt, for example, was mistaken for Anger and Indifference, Anger for Contempt and Jealousy, Fear for Grief. Grief, however, was misidentified most frequently as Love.<sup>12</sup>

The relative effectiveness of the subjects in the expression of each of the five emotions studied, as expressed in terms of the percentage of correct identifications, may be observed in Table I. Individual portrayals are seen to vary from 98 per cent in Anger portrayed by Subject VI to 33 per cent in Fear portrayed by Subject I. In each emotion at least one subject is more than 94 per cent effective. Subjects I, II, and V average approximately 70 per cent, while subjects III, IV, and VI are in the neighborhood of 88 per cent.

<sup>12</sup> Two of the five ambiguous readings mentioned above, which had been introduced into the random order, were attempts to portray Love. Although judgments on these two portrayals were widely distributed, correct identifications were most frequent. The most common errors were judgments of Grief.

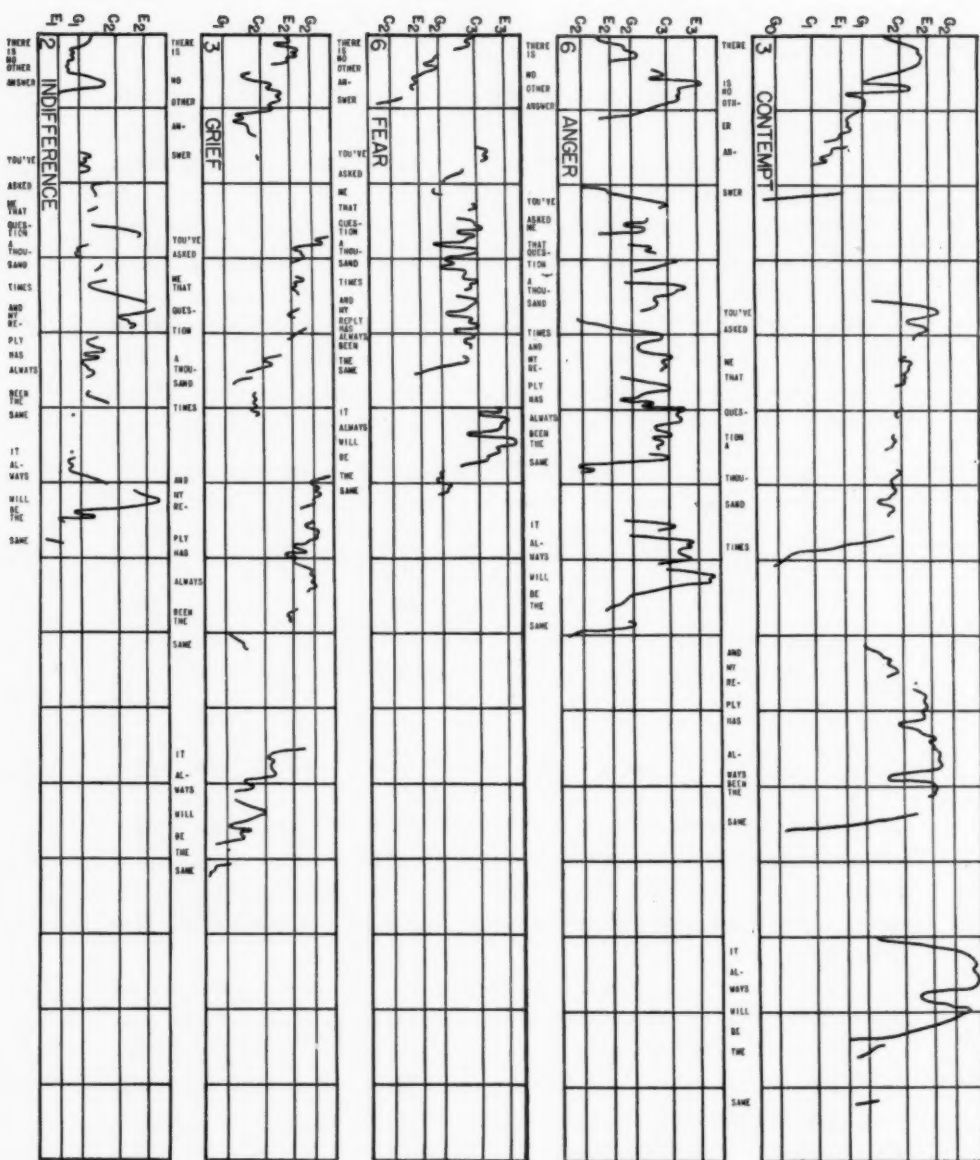


FIGURE II

Pitch Curves of Emotional Simulations. For each Emotional State Studied, the Example which was Identified Correctly by the Largest Percentage of Observers is Shown.



The latter three subjects tend to rank at the top in all emotions except Indifference, while Subjects I and II, who have the lowest average rank in the first four emotions listed in the table, rank highest in Indifference.

### *Pitch Curves*

In Figure II are presented pitch curves of the highest ranking subject in each emotion. The abscissa is time, with the vertical lines marking off one second intervals; the ordinate is the equal-tempered musical scale, horizontal lines indicating the major triads.<sup>13</sup> Although it is known that the relationship between pitch and frequency is not perfect, the correspondence is close enough to warrant referring to curves such as in Figure II as pitch curves.

Inspection of Figure II reveals marked differences in pitch level, pitch range and extent of inflections. These aspects are measured quantitatively below and receive only mention here. The curves are presented for the purpose of depicting these differences graphically, and to show certain typical features of "pattern." It should be mentioned that curves for the portrayals of the other subjects demonstrate the same features shown in this figure, but generally to a lesser degree as the portrayals decrease in effectiveness. From Figure II it may be seen that Contempt is distinguished by a few extremely wide downward inflections at the ends of phrases; two of the inflections shown are over one octave in extent. The curve for Anger discloses a greater proportion of wide-range upward inflections than in Contempt, although it is second only to the latter in the presence of some notably wide downward movements, and there appears to be a greater number of moderately wide downward inflections. Important also appears to be the fact that wide pitch changes are accomplished in extremely short intervals of time. Fear is notable for the apparent disintegration of pattern, and for the great number of changes in direction of pitch movement. In the curve for Grief appears the consistent use of vibrato, and the characteristic use of a long, sustained, slowly falling intonation throughout each phrase. The lack of definite pattern is apparent in Indifference.

<sup>13</sup> The major triad is the C, E, and G of each octave. The values are assigned according to an A = 440 c.p.s. scale, where C<sub>3</sub> = 261.6 c.p.s.

*Pitch Level*

Comparison of pitch levels may be made from Table II, which presents the median frequency in cycles per second for each emotion, together with the musical tones which approximate the medians most closely. It is seen that pitch levels in the neighborhood of  $C_2$  were employed for simulations of Contempt, Grief, and Indifference, while Anger and Fear are found approximately one octave higher. The exact difference between the medians of Fear and In-

TABLE II  
MEDIAN PITCH LEVELS OF THE SIMULATIONS OF EMOTION, GROUP MEDIANS

	CONTEMPT	ANGER	FEAR	GRIEF	INDIFFERENCE
Median Pitch Level [c.p.s.]	124.3	228.8	254.4	135.9	108.3
Nearest Musical Tone	$B_1$	$A\sharp_2$	$C_3$	$C\sharp_2$	$A_1$

difference is 7.4 tones. The significance of these variations becomes apparent when it is recalled that several investigators have reported a value of one octave as the total pitch range [i.e., the difference between the highest and lowest tones used] in factual speech and reading, and that less than one octave separates the median pitch levels of typical male and female voices according to the most recent data. The findings on pitch level agree comparatively with those of *Lynch*,<sup>14</sup> who studied anger, grief and factual reading, and reported that the pitch levels of the three ranked in that descending order.

*Measures of Pitch Range*

Mean values for the measures of pitch range<sup>15</sup> are presented in Table III. Mean total pitch range is the arithmetic mean of the six individual measures of pitch range for each emotion, since, by definition, only one value was obtained from each reading. For each of the remaining measures of range, all values, of which there were many obtained in each reading, were grouped in a frequency distribution and the mean of this distribution computed without reference to the individual means.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> All measures of range in this study are expressed in tones, the difference in tones between any two frequencies being given by the formula

$$N_{\text{tones}} = 19.92 \log_{10} \frac{f_1}{f_0},$$

where  $f_1$  is the higher and  $f_0$  the lower frequency. Multiplication by two converts the values into semi-tones; division by six converts them into octaves.

<sup>16</sup> To simplify Table III the number of cases is omitted. It varied from 49 to 280, except for mean total pitch range, where  $N$  is, of course, six.

Considering the figures for total pitch range, it is seen that all lie between one and two octaves. Contempt, Anger, and Fear have ranges in the neighborhood of 10 to 11 tones, Grief a range of 9.0, and Indifference one of 7.8. It is interesting to note that of the three emotions with wide mean pitch ranges, Contempt is the only one in which this feature is combined with a low median pitch level. Although consideration of the individual portrayals is reserved for a later report, it may be mentioned in this connection that five of the six subjects employed total pitch ranges in excess of three octaves in expressing the five emotions. Measures of mean phonational range<sup>17</sup> show the same general tendencies as do pitch range measures,

TABLE III  
MEAN MEASURES OF PITCH RANGE, TONES

	CONTEMPT	ANGER	FEAR	GRIEF	INDIFFERENCE
Total Pitch Range	10.5	10.3	11.2	9.0	7.8
Phonational Range	3.4	4.0	3.2	2.4	2.7
Extent of Inflections	2.2	2.6	2.3	1.7	2.0
All Upward Inflections	1.8	2.4	1.8	1.5	1.9
Wide Upward	2.8	3.7	2.8	2.1	2.9
Narrow Upward	.9	1.1	.9	.8	1.0
All Downward Inflections	2.5	2.8	2.6	1.9	2.1
Wide Downward	3.8	4.1	4.0	2.7	3.3
Narrow Downward	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.0

except that Grief has a narrower phonational range than Indifference, and Anger one considerably wider than the others.

Mean extent of inflection, the third type of pitch range measurement presented in Table III, facilitates a more precise differentiation between the emotions.<sup>18</sup> As was noted for phonational range, Anger

<sup>17</sup> A phonation is defined customarily as an uninterrupted sound from the vocal cords. Within a phonation pitch may vary markedly. For any given phonation the range is the difference in tones between the highest and lowest fundamental frequencies measured.

<sup>18</sup> For the purpose of this study an inflection is defined as a pitch change, i.e., frequency modulation, in a given direction without interruption of phonation. Thus, the extent of an inflection is measured from the point at which the pitch begins to rise or fall to the point at which it changes direction. It is seen, however, that measurement with so rigid a definition would become technically impractical, since minute changes in direction are almost universal in speech. It is not known at present how important these minute fluctuations are perceptually. Certainly they are not perceived as such by the casual listener. In the present study the admittedly arbitrary procedure was adopted of ignoring all fluctuations less than one semi-tone in extent in measures of inflections. In practice this means that an upward movement of pitch, for example, upon which are superimposed small changes in direction, is considered only as an

ranks highest and Grief lowest in mean extent of all inflections. If the extent of all upward inflections be compared to that of all downward inflections in Table III, it will be noted that the latter means are greater for all emotions considered.<sup>10</sup> In both upward and downward inflections Anger is seen to have the greatest mean extent and Grief the smallest. The upward and downward inflections were subdivided further at the median of each distribution into inflections wider and narrower than the median. Vertical comparison of the means of these sub-classes discloses that the wider inflections are approximately three times as great on the average as the narrower inflections. In these measures also Anger is seen to rank highest and Grief least in extent.

From inspection of Table III it becomes apparent that there is provided in comparison of the mean extent of inflections a method of differentiating Anger and Grief from other emotions studied. Considering Anger for the moment, it has been noted that the measurements of simulations of this emotion show a wider mean extent of inflections in all computations than any other emotion. In Anger, as in other emotions, downward inflections exceed upward inflections, but study of Table III reveals that this difference is proportionately smaller than in other emotions, with the exception of Indifference. If wide upward inflections are compared to wide downward inflections this tendency is most striking. Whereas in Contempt and Fear wide downward inflections exceed wide upward inflections by 1.0 and 1.2 tones, respectively, or by approximately 35 per cent of 2.8 tones, the amount of increase in the case of Anger is .4 tone, only 11 per cent of the 3.7 tones range in wide upward inflections. In general, the important facts about inflections in simulations of Anger appear to be [1] that all types of inflections are greater in

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upward inflection. It is seen, therefore, that within phonations only upward or downward inflections may occur, and that "level" inflections are found only in isolated phonations of very short duration which cannot be classified as upward or downward. Since inflections of the latter type are, by definition, less in extent than the one semi-tone limit [if greater they become upward or downward inflections], and since, furthermore, they were found to be too few for valid measurement [ $N = 4, 1, 3, 7$ , and  $7$ , for Contempt, Anger, Fear, Grief, and Indifference, respectively], they are omitted from the computations.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to their greater extent, downward inflections exceed upward inflections in number, in the proportion of approximately 55 to 45 per cent in each of the emotions. The five emotions differed very little in this respect, the minimum percentage of downward inflections, 53, being found in Anger, the maximum, 57, in Grief.

mean extent than those of other emotions, being markedly greater than Indifference and Grief, [2] that Anger, together with Indifference, differs from Contempt, Fear, and Grief in that the extent of downward inflections in Anger does not exceed that of upward inflections by so large a proportionate amount, and [3] that upward inflections in Anger exceed those in other emotions by an amount which is greater than the amount by which the extent of downward inflections in Anger exceeds that in other emotions, i.e., the increase in mean extent of inflections on the part of Anger is most marked in the upward inflections. With respect to Grief, as has been observed from Table III, the mean extent of inflections is narrower for this emotion than for others studied. This is true for all the computations except for that of narrow downward inflections, in which Grief and Indifference have equal extents.

TABLE IV  
MEAN RATE OF PITCH CHANGE DURING INFLECTIONS, TONES PER SECOND

	CONTEMPT	ANGER	FEAR	GRIEF	INDIFFERENCE
All Inflections	16.8	25.6	19.0	15.6	16.6
All Upward Inflections	16.1	25.6	18.4	16.6	15.8
Wide Upward	21.5	33.4	24.8	21.9	19.4
Narrow Upward	10.6	17.8	12.1	11.2	12.0
All Downward Inflections	17.4	25.5	19.5	14.8	17.3
Wide Downward	23.2	31.7	24.2	17.1	22.9
Narrow Downward	11.6	19.4	14.8	12.4	12.1

#### *Rate of Pitch Change*

Observation of the pitch curves suggested that the rapidity or slowness with which inflections are accomplished might differentiate certain of the emotions studied. In order to measure this factor, the extent of each inflection was divided by its duration, providing an expression in tones per second. The mean rate of pitch change for each classification of inflections is presented in Table IV.

Some of the differences are very marked. In Anger the mean rate of change is 25.6 tones, or approximately four octaves, per second, while in Grief it is only 15.6 tones.<sup>20</sup> On the average, pitch changes 65 per cent more rapidly in Anger than in Grief. Taking the most extreme case, pitch change during the wide upward inflections of Anger is 215 per cent faster than during the narrow upward inflections of Contempt [see Table IV].

<sup>20</sup> It is understood, of course, that no inflections of the above extents or durations were found.

Horizontal comparison of the means shows that pitch change is considerably more rapid in portrayals of Anger than in those of other emotions studied, for all types and extents of inflections. Fear ranks second in all computations. Although the mean rate of pitch change is slowest for Grief when all inflections are considered, this ranking is not uniformly consistent among the classes and sub-classes of inflections. Considering the emotions which rank at the bottom of the order in these computations, it is interesting to observe that Grief has the slowest mean rate of change in all downward inflections and in wide downward inflections, that Indifference ranks as slowest in all upward inflections and in wide upward inflections, and that in narrow inflections, both upward and downward, pitch change is slowest in Contempt.

TABLE V  
MEAN EXTENT OF PITCH SHIFTS, TONES

	CONTEMPT	ANGER	FEAR	GRIEF	INDIFFERENCE
<i>Within Phrases</i>					
All Shifts	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.5
Upward Shifts	2.0	2.0	2.3	1.7	1.5
Downward Shifts	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.5
<i>Between Phrases</i>					
Upward Shifts	4.0	3.7	5.7	3.4	2.0
Downward Shifts	.8	2.7	1.3	*	*
* No cases.					

If Table IV is inspected vertically it will be noted that the rate of pitch change in downward *vs.* upward inflections is never markedly nor consistently different. Comparison of wide inflections to narrow inflections, however, shows that in each case pitch change is more rapid in the wide inflections.

From Table IV the following facts may be concluded: [1] That marked differences in rate of pitch change are present between the emotions considered; [2] that extremely rapid pitch change characterizes Anger; [3] that slow pitch change distinguishes Grief; and [4] that the rate of pitch change is slowest in the downward inflections of Grief, in the upward inflections of Indifference, and in the narrow inflections of Contempt.

#### *Extent of Pitch Shifts*

Measurement of the mean extent of pitch shifts<sup>21</sup> results in the

<sup>21</sup> A pitch shift is defined as the change in pitch between the last pitch measured in a given phonation and the first pitch measured in the phonation following. As in the case of inflections, only shifts one semi-tone or greater in extent are considered in Table V. The number of individual measurements from which the means were calculated are discussed below.



values presented in Table V. Considering only shifts *within* phrases, it is seen that the mean extent of all shifts, both upward and downward, is widest in Anger and Fear, and narrowest in Indifference. Upward shifts are widest in Fear, narrowest in Indifference, while downward shifts are widest in Anger and narrowest in Grief. The mean extent of upward shifts is greater than that of downward shifts in all emotions except Indifference, where the values are identical. It will be recalled that in inflectional range, downward inflections exceed upward inflections in extent, but that the difference is smallest in Indifference in that measure also.

Comparison of the means in Tables V and III shows that the mean extent of all inflections is greater than the mean extent of all shifts [within phrases] in all emotions. This difference is greatest in downward inflections and shifts, where the mean downward inflection in Anger and Fear is one full tone wider in extent than the mean downward shift in these two emotions. In upward inflections and shifts, however, only in Anger and Indifference is the mean extent of inflections wider than that of shifts.

In Table V data on shifts of pitch *between* phrases also are presented. It is observed that the mean extent of upward shifts between phrases in Fear is almost three times as great as the mean extent measured in Indifference. As will be seen, the measures of mean extent of downward shifts between phrases are not reliable because of the small number of cases. The most common practice in reading the test passage was to divide it into four phrases, pauses of longer than average duration being used after the three words "answer," "times," and "same" [see Figure II]. With six subjects it is seen that if only pauses after these three words are counted, a maximum number of 18 such pauses can be obtained for each emotion. At each pause an upward or downward shift of pitch may occur, or there may be no shift [i.e., a shift less than one semi-tone in extent]. Of a possible 18 in each emotion, 17 interphrasal pauses were found in portrayals of Contempt, 15 in Anger, 16 in Fear, 17 in Grief, and 14 in Indifference. Upward shifts predominate in all emotions. At 15 of the 17 pauses in Contempt the pitch shift was upward, at one pause it was downward, and at one pause there was no shift. Of 15 cases in Anger, 13 were upward and two downward; of 16 in Fear, 14 were upward, two downward. In Grief, 16 of the 17 cases were upward shifts, none were downward, and in one there was no shift. Of the 14 pauses in portrayals of Indifference, however, only

eight were marked with upward shifts, none with downward shifts, and in six cases there was no shift.

Similar data on the number of shifts *within* phrases are given in Table VI. Here also it will be noted that upward shifts predominate. In Contempt, for example, 64 per cent of 73 possible shifts are upward, 18 per cent are downward, and in 18 per cent of the cases the shift was less than one semi-tone in extent. Only in this emotion, however, is the percentage of shifts less than one semi-tone in extent equal to or greater than that of downward shifts. Further consideration of Table VI shows that Contempt employs a larger percentage of upward shifts and a smaller percentage of downward shifts than any other emotion, whereas in Grief the smallest percentage of upward shifts and the largest percentage of downward

TABLE VI  
NUMBER OF PITCH SHIFTS WITHIN PHRASES

	CONTEMPT		ANGER		FEAR		GRIEF		INDIFFERENCE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upward Shifts	47	64	35	54	34	51	30	41	29	43
Downward Shifts	13	18	17	27	21	32	26	35	20	30
Less than Semi-tone	13	18	12	19	11	17	18	24	18	27
All Shifts	73	100	64	100	66	100	74	100	67	100

shifts were found. Indifference uses the greatest percentage of pauses where no shift is made, while the percentage is smallest in Fear.

Within phrases, shifts of pitch compose approximately 20 per cent of all pitch changes one semi-tone or greater in extent; the remaining changes are inflections. In Contempt and Anger the latter represent 83 per cent of all changes, in Fear and Grief 82 per cent, and in Indifference 80 per cent.

With respect to pitch shifts the following conclusions may be drawn: [1] Within phrases, Anger and Fear employ wider shifts, on the average, than other emotions. [2] Between phrases shifts are widest in Fear. [3] Indifference uses the narrowest shifts, both within and between phrases. [4] In Indifference the mean extent of upward shifts within phrases equals that of downward shifts, while in other emotions upward shifts are wider than downward shifts. [5] In number, upward shifts invariably exceed downward shifts and shifts of small extent; in Indifference, however, it is notable that both within and between phrases the number of shifts of very small extent is proportionately greater than in other emotions. [6] Within phrases, Contempt uses the largest percentage of upward

shifts, Grief the smallest. The situation is reversed for downward shifts. [7] On the average, the shifts used in an emotional portrayal are narrower than the inflections used in the same portrayal, when both upward and downward changes are considered in the mean. The direction of this difference is invariable for downward changes, but only in Anger and Indifference are upward shifts narrower than upward inflections. [8] Within phrases, inflections one semi-tone or greater in extent outnumber shifts of the same magnitude approximately four to one.

*Number of Changes in the Direction of Pitch Movement*

Audition of the phonograph records suggested that in simulations of Grief and Fear more general variability in pitch is perceived than

TABLE VII  
MEAN NUMBER OF CHANGES IN DIRECTION OF PITCH PER SECOND

	CONTEMPT	ANGER	FEAR	GRIEF	INDIFFERENCE
<i>During Phonation Only</i>					
All Extents	8.0	8.7	9.6	10.4	8.3
Semi-tone or Greater	3.8	5.2	4.3	4.5	3.7
Less than Semi-tone	4.2	3.5	5.3	5.9	4.6
<i>Including "Shifts"</i>					
All Extents	6.0	7.4	8.3	6.4	6.8
Semi-tone or Greater	3.9	5.1	4.7	3.4	3.9
Less than Semi-tone	2.1	2.3	3.6	3.0	2.9

in other portrayals, and that this phenomenon appears to be related to the frequency with which changes occur. Table VII presents the results of computations of the mean number of changes in direction per second, [1] during phonation only [i.e., the total number of changes during phonation divided by the total duration of phonation], and [2] including shifts of pitch [i.e., the total number of all changes, including those in which the direction of the first inflection in a given phonation differs from the direction of the last inflection in the preceding phonation, divided by the total speaking time, including pauses.] Separate computations were made also for changes in direction in which the change prevailed for one semi-tone or greater in extent, and for changes less than one semi-tone in extent.

If the emotions are compared [Table VII] as to number of changes per second of all extents, considering only changes occurring during phonation, it is seen that Grief ranks highest and Contempt lowest in this measure. The differences are not great, but if the number by which Grief exceeds Contempt is expressed as the percentage of the number in Contempt, Grief is found to have 30 per

cent more changes per second than Contempt. Similarly, Grief exceeds Indifference in number per second by 25 per cent, Anger by 20 per cent, but employs only eight per cent more changes per second than Fear. Considering changes during phonation of one semi-tone or greater in extent, it is observed that Anger ranks highest; while if changes less than one semi-tone in extent only are counted, Grief is seen to have more per second than the other emotions.

In the second half of Table VII, in which all changes in direction, both during continuous phonation and over pauses intervening between phonations, are counted, Fear ranks highest in number of changes of all extents. The mean number in Fear exceeds that in Contempt by 38 per cent, in Indifference by 22 per cent, and in Anger by 12 per cent. Whereas it has been shown that Grief exceeds Fear in number of changes during phonation by only eight per cent, Fear exceeds Grief by 30 per cent when all changes are considered. Anger again ranks highest in number of changes per second of one semi-tone or more, while Fear has the greatest number of changes per second less than one semi-tone in extent.

Table VII reveals further that during phonation, with the exception of Anger, the number of changes in direction less than one semi-tone in extent exceeds the number of changes greater than one semi-tone in the proportions of approximately 55 to 45. In Anger the number of changes of greater extent exceeds the number of changes of smaller extent in the proportions of 60 to 40. It is seen further, in the second half of Table VII, that the number of changes of greater extent exceeds the number of changes of smaller extent in every case, when shifts are included, but that the proportional difference in number is greater in Anger than in the other emotions.

From the measures considered in this section it may be concluded that [1] during phonation, Grief has more changes in direction of pitch per second, of all extents and of smaller extents, than other emotions studied; that [2] during the entire speaking time, and counting all changes, Fear has more per second, of all extents and of smaller extents, than other emotions; and that [3] Anger exceeds the other emotions in number of changes per second of greater extents, whether phonation only or the entire speaking time is considered.

### III. SUMMARY

The vocal pitch characteristics of six actors, reading the same test passage in the expression of five emotional states, were investigated objectively. Since observers were able to identify the emotions

with a high degree of precision when context was held constant and other cues were removed, the vocal portrayals were known to be representative of the emotions studied.

The following summary lists the features, as revealed by measurement, which appear to distinguish the five emotions. The superlatives refer in each case only to comparisons with the other emotions investigated in this experiment.

*Contempt.* [1] Extremely wide inflections at the ends of phrases. [2] A low median pitch level in combination with a wide total pitch range. [3] The slowest mean rate of pitch change in narrow inflections. [4] The greatest proportion of upward shifts and the smallest proportion of downward shifts within phrases. [5] The smallest number per second during phonation of pitch changes of all extents. [6] The smallest number per second during the total speaking time of pitch changes less than one semi-tone in extent.

*Anger.* [1] The widest mean phonational range. [2] The widest mean extent of inflections in all types and extents of inflections, this increase being most marked in upward inflections. [3] The most rapid rate of pitch change during inflections. [4] The widest mean extent of all pitch shifts [together with Fear] and of downward pitch shifts within phrases. [5] The greatest number per second, during phonation only and during the total speaking time, of pitch changes one semi-tone or greater in extent. [6] The smallest number per second during phonation of changes less than one semi-tone in extent. [7] A greater number per second during phonation of changes one semi-tone or greater in extent than of smaller changes, the reverse being true for other emotions.

*Fear.* [1] The highest median pitch level. [2] The widest total pitch range. [3] The widest mean extent of all pitch shifts [together with Anger] and of upward shifts within phrases. [4] The widest mean extent of shifts between phrases. [5] The fewest pauses [proportionately] within phrases at which shifts of pitch were not made. [6] The greatest number per second during the total speaking time of pitch changes of all extents and of small extents.

*Grief.* [1] The presence of vibrato. [2] The narrowest mean phonational range. [3] The narrowest mean extent of inflections, of all types and extents [except for narrow downward inflections, in which the range is identical with that of Indifference], this decrease being most marked in upward inflections. [5] The slowest rate of pitch change for all inflections and for downward inflec-



tions. [6] The narrowest mean extent of downward shifts within phrases. [7] The smallest proportion of upward shifts and the greatest proportion of downward shifts within phrases. [8] The greatest number per second during phonation of pitch changes of all extents and of small extents. [9] The smallest number per second during the total speaking time of changes one semi-tone or greater in extent.

*Indifference.* [1] The lowest median pitch level. [2] The narrowest total pitch range. [3] The smallest difference between the mean extents of downward and upward inflections. [4] The slowest rate of pitch change in upward inflections. [5] The narrowest mean extent of all shifts and of upward shifts within phrases. [6] The greatest number of pauses [proportionately] at which shifts of pitch were not made, both within and between phrases. [7] Upward shifts within phrases equal in extent to downward shifts, the former being greater in all other emotions. [8] The smallest number per second during phonation of changes one semi-tone or greater in extent.

The following results were obtained which have general application to the vocal expression of emotion:

1. Emotions expressed by the voice alone are readily identifiable.
2. Measurable pitch characteristics distinguish emotional portrayals.
3. The median pitch levels in two of the emotions studied were found to be more than one octave apart.
4. Downward inflections were found to be wider and greater in number than upward inflections in all emotions.
5. Within phrases upward shifts were found to be wider and greater in number than downward shifts, except in Indifference, where the extents were found to be equal.
6. Within phrases inflections were found to be wider than shifts, and to outnumber shifts four to one.
7. Downward inflections were found to be wider than downward shifts, but in Contempt, Fear and Grief upward shifts were found to be wider than upward inflections.
8. Shifts between phrases are predominately upward.
9. During phonation only, the number of pitch changes per second less than one semi-tone in extent was found to be larger than the number of greater changes for all emotions except Anger.
10. During the total speaking time the number of pitch changes per second one semi-tone or greater in extent was found to be larger than the number of smaller changes.



## AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY ON THE CONTROL OF PRONUNCIATION

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THE purpose of this paper is to determine the degree of accuracy attainable by voluntary control of pronunciation. Two factors of speech were investigated: 1. the duration of the muscle movements (i.e. of the individual vowels and consonants except where overlapping movements precluded such separation); 2. the frequency (pitch) of vowels and voiced consonants. Kymograph records were taken of the following sentences:

The weather is fine today.

How are you? I am very well, thank you.

It's a long way to Tipperary.

United we stand, divided we fall.

What is so rare as a day in June?

Five subjects were used. Subjects A, B, C, and D were trained teachers of speech, subject E a specialist in phonetics. Each subject was instructed to speak each sentence six times, i.e. three times without conscious effort to articulate accurately, and three times with maximum control. They were also instructed to pronounce the second group of three with as little variation as possible. There was a pause of one or two minutes between the two groups. The duration of each sound unit in all the sentences was accurately measured in hundredths of a second. The frequency of the phonative elements was also counted. The results were tabulated. The first pronunciation of each sentence in each group was taken as a standard, and the deviations of the second and the third from it were calculated in absolute figures and in percentages. The results were tabulated as shown in the following sample (Table I) from subject C.

The average of each two deviations as pronounced by each individual was then calculated in percentages, and finally the average of these averages for each sentence as pronounced by each individual was calculated. These last are arranged in Table II according to the subjects, and in Table III according to sentences.

Results. The tables show that subjects A, D and E pronounced on an average with greater accuracy (least deviation) when they strove to attain accuracy. This is informing in view of the fact that

some scholars have denied that greater accuracy could be attained by conscious control. Subject B, however, showed a greater accuracy of control in the sentences that were spoken without effort to control; subject C in the matter of duration showed less accuracy in his controlled sentences, but in the matter of frequency greater accuracy in his controlled sentences. It is notable that in the controlled

TABLE I

SOUND UNITS	PRONUN- CIATIONS	UNCONTROLLED						CONTROLLED					
		a	b	c	d	e	f	a	b	c	d	e	f
U	1st	.11			109			.13			100		
	2nd	.11	0		110	+ 1		.16	+.03		100	0	
	3rd	.1	-.01	4½%	100	- 9	4½%	.11	-.02	19½%	100	0	0%
n	1st	.09			111			.09			100	0	
	2nd	.07	-.02		100	-11		.07	-.02		100	- 1	½%
	3rd	.1	+.01	16½%	100	-11	10%	.075	-.015	19½%	99		
i	1st	.17			118			.15			120		
	2nd	.165	-.005		121	+ 3		.165	+.015		102	-18	
	3rd	.135	-.035	12%	126	+ 8	4½%	.15	0	5%	127	+ 7	10½%
t	1st	.05						.06					
	2nd	.055	+.005					.1	+.04				
	3rd	.1	+.05	55%				.05	-.01	41½%			
e	1st	.13			100			.09			89		
	2nd	.09	-.04		111	+11		.07	-.02		114	+25	
	3rd	.105	-.025	25%	76	-24	17½%	.1	+.01	16½%	140	+51	42½%
d	1st	.04			100			.07			100		
	2nd	.07	+.03	87½%	100	0		.1	+.03	21½%	120	+20	
	3rd	.08	+.04		113	+13	6½%	.07	0		86	-14	17%

a. absolute duration; b. absolute deviation in duration; c. percentage of average deviation in duration; d. absolute frequency; e. absolute deviation in frequency; f. percentage of average deviation in frequency. Duration is measured in hundredths of a second.

pronunciations the average increase in accuracy in pitch is over 2 times the average increase in accuracy in duration; the ratio being 14½% to 7%.

It is not to be inferred from these figures that every controlled sentence was more accurately pronounced by subjects A, D and E. This is brought out in both Tables II and III. For example in the first sentence subject A showed 30% and subject D 13½% greater variation in controlled frequency; while subject E showed an improvement in accuracy of nearly 50%. Thus accuracy is not always

increased when pronunciation is controlled. Only one sentence (the last) consistently showed greater accuracy in frequency in the case of all five subjects, and in duration also with the exception of subject A. This consistency may be due to the rhythmical character of the sentence.

Different individuals showed wide difference in the degree to which they can intentionally control. Of the four trained teachers of speech, A, B, and D showed approximately the same degree of

TABLE II

Subjects	Sentences	AVERAGE DEVIATION IN DURATION IN %		AVERAGE DEVIATION IN FREQUENCY IN %	
		Uncontrolled	Controlled	Uncontrolled	Controlled
A	The weather. ....	27½	24	10	13
	How are you? .....	19	21½	14½	11
	It's a long. ....	17½	8	27½	14
	United we. ....	28	25	12½	18½
	What is so. ....	14	20½	14	9
		av. 21	av. 20	av. 16	av. 13
B	The weather. ....	22½	22	11	24
	How are you? .....	22½	24½	14	11
	It's a long. ....	17	39	7	14
	United we. ....	23	23½	14	13½
	What is so. ....	23½	19	11	10
		av. 21½	av. 25½	av. 11	av. 14½
C	The weather. ....	16	28	12	11
	How are you? .....	20	23½	7½	10½
	It's a long. ....	17	14½	17	6
	United we. ....	20	24½	7½	11½
	What is so. ....	17½	14	9	8
		av. 18	av. 21	av. 10½	av. 9
D	The weather. ....	15	18	11	12½
	How are you? .....	22	8	12	14
	It's a long. ....	16	16	8½	8½
	United we. ....	21½	15½	15½	8½
	What is so. ....	28	17½	13	11
		av. 20½	av. 15	av. 12	av. 11
E	The weather. ....	21	13½	21	10
	How are you? .....	22	23	12½	16½
	It's a long. ....	40	32	30	9
	United we. ....	33	12	21½	10½
	What is so. ....	22	15½	27	13
		av. 27½	av. 19	av. 22	av. 12
	Average of averages. . .	21½	20	14	12

accuracy of pronunciation in their normally pronounced sentences. C, however, who is unusually precise not only in speech but also in his dress and other habits, showed much less deviation. Yet he showed even less ability to consciously control duration than did either A or D. Subject B who seemed to be suffering slightly from stage fright, showed little ability to control his utterance. On the other hand, subject E, the phonetician, who always speaks spontane-

TABLE III

Sentences	Subjects	AVERAGE DEVIATION IN DURATION IN %		AVERAGE DEVIATION IN FREQUENCY IN %	
		Uncontrolled	Controlled	Uncontrolled	Controlled
The weather.....	A	27½	24	10	13
	B	22½	22	11	24
	C	16	28	12	11
	D	15	18	11	12½
	E	21	13½	21	10
		av. 20	av. 21	av. 13	av. 14
How are you?.....	A	19	21½	14½	11
	B	22½	24½	14	11
	C	20	23½	7½	10½
	D	22	8	12	14
	E	22	23	12½	16½
		av. 21	av. 20	av. 12	av. 12½
It's a long.....	A	17½	8	27½	14
	B	17	39	7	14
	C	17	14½	17	6
	D	16	16	8½	8½
	E	40	32	30	9
		av. 21	av. 22	av. 18	av. 10
United we.....	A	28	25	12½	18½
	B	23	23½	14	13½
	C	20	24½	7½	11½
	D	21½	15½	15½	8½
	E	33	12	21½	10½
		av. 25	av. 20	av. 14	av. 12½
What is so.....	A	14	20½	14	9
	B	23½	19	11	10
	C	17½	14	9	8
	D	28	17½	13	11
	E	22	15½	27	13
		av. 21	av. 17	av. 15	av. 10
Average of averages....		21½	20	14	12

ously without effort to attain accuracy, has developed a marked accuracy of control over his speech.

Emergence of the refinement of pronunciation is due to the development of the cerebral cortex, and hence involves associate reflexes. However, it acquires an automatic character once the specific pattern has been established through repetition. Notwithstanding this, the great diversity of emotional and ideational experiences, as also the great variety of muscle movements preceding and following the individual articulations of speech, induce wide variations in speech movements. That the range of variation is kept as narrow as this set of experiments indicates, testifies to the great delicacy of voluntary control attainable which is able to increase the average accuracy of the controlled over uncontrolled speech by  $14\frac{1}{2}$  percent in frequency and by 7 percent in duration. Dr. Frederick B. McKay in "Time Control in Speaking" (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1932) found in normal (uncontrolled) speech a somewhat smaller average of deviation in duration—16% as compared with our  $21\frac{1}{2}$ %.

Since the statistics are based on only five subjects one may hesitate to draw general conclusion from them. They do, however, tend to show that improvement is attained by the traditional methods of speech training, and (as far as we may judge from one case who also speaks several languages) by training in phonetics. If corresponding tables should be constructed from the pronunciations of these same sentences by untrained university students, we should expect that further indication of the effectiveness of speech training would be obtained.

\* The author is now conducting this investigation in the Phonetics Laboratory of the University of Michigan.

## NED ALLEYN versus DICK BURBAGE

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IN HIS recent volume entitled *The Real War of the Theaters*,<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. B. Sharpe has clarified the situation in the theaters of England from 1594 to 1603. We see two well matched companies of adult actors: The Lord Chamberlain's Men with Richard Burbage as the leading actor, and The Lord Admiral's Men with Edward Alleyn\* as the "star." The competition between these companies was keen and we can readily imagine that the rivalry between the "leading men" was also quite sharp. Each would have his following. Their respective merits and demerits as the most prominent actors of the day would be a constant topic of discussion among theater-goers.

Edward Alleyn was such a popular figure on the stage that his speech, his manner of walking, and his costume in favorite roles, are referred to in writings of the time. In S. Rowland's *Knave of Clubs*:

The gull gets on his surplis,  
With a crosse upon his breast,  
Like Allen playing Faustus,  
In that manner was he dressed.

One favorite character of Alleyn's was *Cutlacke*, a part in which he used a peculiar gait. This way of walking was so well known "about town" that Edward Guilpin could refer to it in his *Skialetheia*:<sup>2</sup>

Clodius, methinks, looks passing big of late,  
With Dunstan's browes and Alleyn's Cutlack's gate,  
What humors have possessed him so I wonder:  
His eyes are lightning, and his words are thunder.

Starting his career perhaps as a member of one of the companies of boy actors so popular under Queen Elizabeth, Alleyn, by 1592, had won the highest respect as a player. Thomas Nash in *Pierce Pennylesse* mentions him as a performer of the utmost deserved distinction: "Not Roscius nor Aesope could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Alleyn." Ben Jonson also links him with Roscius and Aesope, in his *Epigram* (1616). Fuller in *Worthies of London* has it that Alleyn was the "Roscius of our age, so acting to the life, that he made any part (especially a majestic one) to be-

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Monograph* (Boston: D. C. Heath Co., 1935).

\* The two names are spelled variously in extant documents.

<sup>2</sup> *Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth* (1598).



come him." Thomas Heywood, dramatist and actor, well acquainted with Alleyn's work, refers to him<sup>3</sup> as "in his time, the most worthy," and again as "the best of actors."

Richard Burbage may also have begun his training in one of the boy companies. It may be that his first work with adult players may have been in the acting of women's roles, particularly if he was a handsome young man and charming in manners. Apparently, he was soon playing male leads with outstanding success. Ben Jonson refers to him as "your best actor."<sup>4</sup> In *The Return from Parnasus* (part II),<sup>5</sup> an anonymously written play for university wits, we have Burbage and Kemp as characters discoursing on the art of acting. Kemp says to some aspiring scholar-actors:

But be merry my lads, you have happened upon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come North and South to bring it to our playhouse, and for honours, who of more report than Dick Burbage and Will Kemp; he is not a gentleman that knows not Dick Burbage and Will Kemp. Burbage instructs one of the embryo actors: "I pray you take some part in this booke and act it, that I may see what will fit you best. I think your voice would serve for Hieronimo." To another he says: "I like your face and the proportion of your body for Richard III." Richard Burbage was accepted as the Master by the populace and by university gentlemen. After his death, many were the tributes paid. Thomas Middleton wrote "On the death of that Great Master in his art and quality painting and playing, Richard Burbage":

Burbage the player has vouchsafed to die  
Therefore in London is not one eye dry.

Richard Flecknoe in his *Epigrams* waxes enthusiastic:

Who by the best and noblest of the age  
Was held the chiefest ornament of the stage,  
And Actor's clearest light in no dark time  
to show them what to follow, what decline.  
Who knew by rules of the Dramatic Art  
to fit his speech and action to his part,  
And of an excellent orator had all  
In voice and gesture which we charming call;  
Who a delightful Proteus was that could  
Transform himself into what shape he would  
and finally did on the stage appear  
Beauty to the eye, and Music to the ear.

<sup>3</sup> *Apology for Actors* (1612), reprint in Shakespeare Society Pub.

<sup>4</sup> *Bartholomew Fair*, V, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Acted by the students of St. Johns College, Cambridge. Reprint in Malone Collection.

What more could one desire in an actor? The great tragic roles all died with Burbage:

No more young Hamlett, ould Hieronymoe  
Kind Lear, the griev'd Moore, and more besyde  
That lived in him, have now forever dy'de.

Repeated is the testimony:

How to ye person hee did suit his face  
How did his speech become him, and his face  
Suit with his speech, whilst not a word fall  
Without just weight to balance it withall.

As late as 1643 Richard Baker in his *Chronicle* was still writing: "Richard Burbage and Edward Alleyn, two such actors as no age must look to see the like."

It is an interesting side light to note that the two were also "men of substance." We know that Burbage was a shareholder in the Globe and Blackfriars theaters. It is said that when he died, in 1619, he left "better than £300 a year in land besides personal property." Many legal documents testify that Alleyn was an extensive property holder, was, indeed, a man of wealth. With his father-in-law, Philip Henslowe, he was part owner of the Rose, the Fortune, and Paris Garden. In his last years (he died in 1626), Alleyn built and endowed "God's Gift" or Dulwich College. One likes to think that amid all the adverse criticism heaped upon the profession of acting as we go toward the puritan domination that was to close the theaters, Alleyn and Burbage may have stood out as exceptions. Perhaps Gosson in his *School of Abuse* had actors like them in mind when he wrote:

Some players are modest, if I be not deceived: it is well known that some of them are discreet, sober, properly learned, honest householders, and citizens well thought on among their neighbors at home . . .

But it is as actors that we know them chiefly. The keen rivalry of the companies would lead to adverse criticism of the leads. It is quite humanly possible that the two may have "said mean things" about each other. Professor Sharpe thinks that Bottom was a lampoon of Alleyn. Shakespeare, of course, was in Burbage's company, writing for them. As we shall note later, Alleyn's forte was in the rather bombastic type of role, so that Bottom's wish to play the Lion and all the other parts, too, might strike the listeners at the Globe as particularly funny, granted that they were "in the know." One of Bottom's lines would be quite apropos:

My chief humour is for a tyrant: I could play Ercles rarely, or a part to tear a cat in, to make all split.

Another theory is that the play troupe in *Hamlet* is a satirical portrait of the rival company. The Phyrus speech is so obviously exaggerated both in writing and speaking, and the playlet is so inferior to the play that surrounds it, that it might be taken as a satire on the writing and acting of the Admiral's Men.<sup>6</sup> In *Jack Drums Entertainment* the character of Sir Edward Fortune, in all probability, is Alleyn, as the character Mamon is Henslowe. The two were engaged in building the Fortune at the time the play was printed. Sir Edward is a rollicking blustering aristocrat such as, no doubt, Alleyn would have enjoyed playing. A small sample will suffice to show the spirit of the part:

What news at court? ha, ha, now Jesu God,  
Fetch me some Burdeaux wine, what news at court?  
Reprobate fashion, when each ragged clout,  
Each Cobbler's spawn, and yeasty bowzing bench,  
Reekes in the face of sacred majesty  
His stinking breath of censure, out upon it,  
. . . What news at court?

The portrait is so extreme that it may well be satirical.

Shakespeare has much to say, directly or satirically, about the art of acting. Unfortunately the familiar criteria set up in "Speak the speech, I pray you," etc., has so overshadowed all similar material that we are apt to lose sight of striking passages in other plays. Note two examples. From *Richard III* (III, 5):

*Richard*: Come Cousin,  
Canst thou quake, and change thy color  
Murder thy breath in middle of a word,  
And then again begin, and stop again  
As if thou were distraught, and mad with terror?

*Buckingham*: Tut, I can counterfeit the deep Tragedian,  
Speak, and look black, and pry on every side,  
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw:  
Intending deep suspicion, ghastly looks  
Are at my service, like enforced smiles;  
And both are ready in their offices,  
At any time to grace my stratagems.

From *Troilus and Cressida*, 1, 3, (assuming, of course, that Shakespeare was the author), Ulysses is describing how Agamemnon is being mimicked by Patroclus:

<sup>6</sup> Dover-Wilson and others.

Sometime, great Agamemnon,  
 Thy topless deputation he puts on;  
 And, like a strutting player, whose conceit  
 Lies in his hamstring, and doth think it rich  
 To hear the wooden dialogue and sound  
 'Twixt his stretched footing and the scaffoldage, . . .

Were actors of the time guilty of these artificialities? Who were the "strutting players, with stretched footing, who murdered breath in the middle of a word, who trembled and started at wagging of a straw?" Shakespeare's criteria and standards on acting would be made up largely from his observations and from discussions with Burbage and other actors. It seems reasonable to suppose that the rival company, with Alleyn as leader, might be, to some extent, the objects of such attacks of criticisms.

If there is any truth in this conjecture, then it seems probable that the Admiral's Men would "return the compliment" and yet it is hard to find any material which might be interpreted as satire against Burbage or his company. In *Histrion-Mastix or The Player Whipt*,<sup>7</sup> the character of *Posthaste* might refer to either Alleyn or Burbage. *Posthaste*, like Bottom, wants to boss the whole show, he is the playwright and chief actor. When someone asks:

But how shall we do for a prologue for lords?

*Posthaste*: I'll do extempore . . .

Why Lords we are here to show you what we are,  
 Lords we are here although our clothes be bare,  
 Instead of flowers, in season, yee shall gather  
 Rime and reason.

He also devises the epilogue:

The glasse is run, our play is done,  
 Hence Time doth call, wee thank you all.

Schelling thinks that *Posthaste* may be a satirical portrait of Shakespeare.<sup>8</sup> Many of the plays used by the Admiral's Company have been lost; perhaps with them material directed against their rivals.

From the scanty "bits" of evidence cited, one perceives how difficult it is to compare and evaluate the work of Alleyn and Burbage. Extant pictures leave little to choose. Both the full length painting of Alleyn at Dulwich College, and the bust picture of Burbage (said

<sup>7</sup> Printed for Th. Thorpe, 1610.

<sup>8</sup> Schelling, F. E., *The Elizabethan Drama*, V. I.

to have been painted by himself), reveal vigorous personalities, majestic bearing, fine spiritual faces with expressive eyes. Perhaps an examination of representative roles which these players are supposed to have played will assist in reconstructing their styles of acting. Obviously, a certain amount of "guessing" is inevitable in such an attempt, but let us console ourselves with the thought that it is rather pleasant conjecturing.

For our knowledge of the roles that Alleyn played we are indebted quite largely to the record kept by Philip Henslowe in his *Diary*,<sup>9</sup> that priceless list of theaters, actors, plays, playwrights, and expenses, kept during the years 1592 to 1609. From this *Diary* we learn that the most popular of all the parts presented by Alleyn was that of *Barabas* in Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. Henslowe records thirty-six performances, and the part was also quite popular with the Queen at court performances. Two speeches will be sufficient to reconstruct the acting of the part.

*Barabas*: As for myself, I walk abroad o'nights,  
And kill sick people groaning under walls:  
Being young I studied physic, and began  
To practise first upon the Italian;  
There I enriched the priests with burials,  
And always kept the sextons' arms inure  
With digging graves and ringing dead men's knells.

He gloats as he sprinkles poison into the "mess of potage" which is to kill his daughter Abigail and many nuns. At last he falls into the boiling cauldron which he had prepared for someone else (imagine the blood curdling screams), but he manages to shout:

*Barabas*, breathe forth thy lated hate  
And in the fury of thy torments strive  
To end thy life with resolution.  
And had I but escaped this stratagem,  
I would have brought confusion on you all,  
Damned Christian dogs! and Turkish infidels.  
But now begins the extremity of heat  
To pinch me with intolerable pangs;  
Die, life! fly soul! tongue, curse thy fill, and die!

Alleyn is said to have played *Barabas* "with a long false nose." One can readily enough reconstruct this part. How could one help overdoing it or, rather, could it be overdone?

<sup>9</sup> Greg, W. W. edition in 2 v. (London: A. H. Bullen, 1908).

Another of Marlowe's characters for which Alleyn gained fame was *Doctor Faustus*, who sells his soul to the devil in return for power. Magicians were always welcome to Elizabethan audiences and the greatest of them all was Faustus. Hear him:

Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please,  
 Resolve me of all my ambiguities,  
 Perform what desperate enterprise I will?  
 I'll have them fly to India for gold,  
 Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,  
 And search all corners of the new-found world  
 For pleasant fruits and princely delicates;  
 I'll have them read me strange philosophy,  
 And tell the secrets of all foreign kings;  
 I'll have them wall all Germany with brass,  
 And make swift Rhine circle fair Wittenberg.

He gives himself to Mephistophilis. But there is a time limit, and as the end approaches we hear him say:

Ah, Faustus,  
 Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,  
 And then thou must be damned perpetually!  
 O, it strikes, it strikes! Now, body, turn to air,  
 Or Lucifer will bear thee quick to hell!  
 (Thunder—enter devils)  
 My God, my God, look not so fierce on me!  
 Adders and serpents, let me breathe a while!  
 Ugly hell, gape not! come not, Lucifer!  
 I'll burn my books! Ah, Mephistophilis!

(The old fashioned compositor would run out of exclamation marks.) In this part, the demands upon the actor are greater than in *Barabas*. It is not just rant, considerable variety and flexibility are required. However, the tendency to overdo would be almost irresistible.

Alleyn excelled also in *Tamberlane*, the shepherd who is transformed from a shepherd to a world conqueror. He is the military hero stalking through the play and, now and then, pausing to make love to Zenocrate, daughter of the Soldan of Egypt. Hear him boast:

I am a lord, for so my deeds shall prove,  
 And yet a shepherd by my parentage.  
 But, lady, this fair face and heavenly hue  
 Must grace his bed that conquers Asia,  
 And means to be a terror to the world,  
 Measuring the limits of his empery  
 By east and west, as Phoebus doth his course.



To Techelles he says:

Forsake thy king, and do but join with me,  
And we will triumph over all the world:  
I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains,  
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about;  
And sooner shall the sun fall from his sphere  
Than Tamberlane be slain or overcome.

Tamberlane literally climbs to his throne on the back of the conquered Emperor of the Turks. A majestic bearing and stride, a fierce brow, a pompous voice and delivery, these Alleyn must have possessed to play the part adequately.

One other Marlowe character needs to be glanced at, that of the *Duke of Guise* in *The Massacre of Paris*, again a very popular play with the Admiral's Men. Guise is a most bloody villain and, doubtless, Alleyn played him with gusto. The keynote of his character is sounded in his lines:

Oft have I leveled and at last have learned,  
That perill is the chieftest way to happiness . . .  
What glory is there in a common good,  
That hangs on every peasant to achieve?  
That like I best that flies beyond my reach,  
Set me to scale the high Peramides  
And thereon set the diadem of France.  
I'll either rend it with my nayles to naught  
Or mount the top with my aspiring winges  
Although my downfall be the deepest hell.

But Guise is treacherous, unscrupulous, cruel, a religious fanatic. He maneuvers the massacre of the protestants. He has his apothecary make poisoned gloves and sends them to the Queen Mother who smells and dies. He has the Lord Admiral shot and stabbed and gloats over his lifeless body. It is all so extreme as to strike the sense of humor of the modern reader. But the contemporary audience must have reacted seriously and, granted that he played the part, must have considered Guise as one of Alleyn's famous portrayals.

A play often mentioned by Henslowe is the one he calls *Jeronimo* (at other times *Don Horatio*).<sup>10</sup> This was the famous *Spanish Tragedy* by Kyd, or an earlier version, probably the latter. If so, it would be even cruder and bloodier and more filled with horrors than the latest edition. Alleyn would play the lead, it was the type of part in which he excelled and which fits so perfectly into our gal-

<sup>10</sup> Henslowe is notorious for misspellings and other inaccuracies.

lery of portraits. Hieronimo finds the dead body of his son "hanging in the arbor":

Alas, it is Horatio, my sweet son!  
 O no, but he that whilom was my son!  
 O speak, if any spark of life remain:  
 I am thy father; who hath slain my son?  
 What savage monster, not of human kind,  
 Hath here been glutted with thy harmless blood,  
 And left thy bloody corpse dishonored here,  
 For me, amidst these dark and deathful shades,  
 To drown thee with an ocean of my tears?  
 (He "runs lunatic"):  
 O eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears;  
 O life! no life, but lively form of death;  
 O world! no world, but mass of public wrongs  
 Confused and fill'd with murder and misdeeds!  
 (Among other mad things, Hieronimo  
 "bites out his tongue.")

Among the manuscripts at Dulwich College is a large portion of the part of *Orlando* in *Orlando Furioso*.<sup>11</sup> This has just the lines and cues. There are numerous notations in the handwriting of Alleyn so that we infer it is the manuscript from which he learned his lines. Orlando, unknown, has dared to love Angelica, daughter of the King. Her fame has reached him across the seas:

Swift fame hath sounded to our western seas,  
 The matchless beauty of Angelica,  
 Fairer than was the nymph of Mercury,  
 Who, when bright Phoebus mounted up his coach,  
 And tracts Aurora in her silver steps,  
 And sprinkles from the folding of her lap  
 White lilies, roses, and sweet violets.  
 (Jealous of Medor, he raves):  
 Shall Medor, then, possess Orlando's love?  
 dainty and gladsome beams of my delight,  
 why feast your gleams on others' lustful thoughts?  
 delicious brows, why smile your heaven for those  
 that wondering you prove poor Orlando's foes.  
 (He, too, is driven to madness by his jealousy.  
 He rails at Angelica):  
 tell me false Angelica,  
 strumpet, worse than the whorish love of Mars,  
 traytresse, surpassing trothless Cressida,  
 that so in chast his name within that grove,  
 where's Medor? say me for truth where Medor is.  
 If Jupiter hath shutt him with young Ganymede,  
 by heaven, I'll fetch him from the heels of Jove.

<sup>11</sup> Generally attributed to Robert Peele.

These quotations reveal the type of part Orlando was. How easily it could be "torn to tatters to split the ears of the groundlings."

Glancing at some other roles that Alleyn played we note the following. Two plays "sundry tymes played" by Edward Alleyn and the Admirals Men, were companions in title: *A Knacke to Know a Knave*, and *A Knacke to Know an Honest Man*. In the former Alleyn would almost surely play *King Edgar*, dignified, a strong king, dispensing justice equably to nobles and to commons. He sets out to:

"Then as I am God's Viceregent here on earth,  
By God's appointment here to reign and rule,  
So must I seek to cut abuses downe  
That like to hydras heades, daylie growes up one in  
another's place,  
And therein makes the land infectious.

In *A Knacke to Know an Honest Man* the lead would be the character of Sempronio who goes about saving men from sin and declaiming:

Lead you a sober decent comely life,  
Remember truly the effect of things,  
Before you shall effect and make your choice.  
Hear in a word who made the planets seven,  
First sent down love and charity from heaven,  
But avarice was christened in hell.

The part of Robin Hood, the democrat, would be played by Ned Alleyn:

No man that cometh in this wood,  
To feast, or dwell with Robin Hood,  
Shall call him Earle, Lord, Knight, or Squire,  
He no such titles doth desire,  
But Robin Hood, Plain Robin Hood,  
That honest yeoman stout and good.

In the characters *John a Kent* and *Friar Bacon* we have weak prototypes of Faustus: magicians performing miraculous feats before the very eyes of the audience. One of the mechanicals in *John a Kent* says of John:

He never goes abroad without a bushel of devilles about him,  
that if we speak but an ill word of him, he knoweth it by and by.

John controls the lovers as does Puck, and has lots of fun with them. He can:

Help, hinder, give, take back, turne, overturn,  
Deceive, bestowe, breed pleasures, discontent,  
Yet comickly conclude.

*Friar Bacon* is the scholarly magician:

Bacon can by books  
 Make storming Boreas thunder from his cave,  
 And dim fair Luna to a dark eclipse.  
 The great arch-ruler, potentate of hell,  
 Trembles when Bacon bids him, or his friends,  
 Bow to the force of his pentagon.

Henslowe notes productions of *Henry V*, *Hamlet*, and *King "Leir."* It seems reasonably certain that these were not Shakespearean, although they may have been used as "models" by the master playwright. They are earlier versions and, in consequence, they are less polished. They seem crude in comparison with Shakespeare. The *Henry V* is usually identified with a play entitled *Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*. This was presented by Alleyn and the Admirals Men for thirteen performances. Henry is not yet king when the play opens but naughty Prince Hal swaggering and roistering with his boon companions, Ned, Tom, and the Jockey. They rob the Receivers of Hal's father, Henry IV, and then decide to go to Eastcheap Tavern to spend their spoils. Hal insists:

We are all felowes, I tell you Sirs, and the King  
 My father were dead, we would all be kings.

There is a drunken brawl at Eastcheap and the Prince is thrown in prison. He strikes the Chief Justice, and tells Ned he will give him that office:

thou shalt hang none but picke purses and horse-stealers, and such base minded villaines, but that fellow that will stand by the highway courageously with his sword and buckler and take a purse, that fellow give him commendations, beside that, send him to me and I will give him an annual pension of my Exchequer to maintain him all the days of his life.

But when he takes the throne he casts off his old companions as thoroughly as does the Hal of Shakespeare. He, as *Henry V*, becomes at once the soldier hero and military strategist, an impressive king, not forgetting the wooing of Kate of France:

Tush, Kate, but tell me in plain terms,  
 Cans't thou love the king of England?  
 I cannot do as these courtiers do,  
 That spend halfe their time in wooing:  
 Tush, wench, I am none such  
 But wilt thou go over to England?

It is a role any actor would love to play, but requires the flexibility to portray the lively beloved vagabond Prince and the dignified King.

The *Hamlet* is recorded in the Diary as an "old play" as early as

1594. It is usually assigned to Thomas Kyd, and must have been a crude and melodramatic rendering of the story. As such the demands upon the actor of the leading character would be much less exacting, more primitive, than after the play had been revised (perhaps several times) and polished and perfected by Shakespeare.

The case of the *Lear* is quite similar, although the part of *Leir*<sup>12</sup> is still a strong acting part. When Cordelia refuses to give the flattery as do her sisters, the old King bursts out:

Peace, bastard imp, no issue of King Leir,  
I will not hear thee speak one tittle more.  
Call not me father, if thou love thy life,  
Nor these thy sisters once presume to name:  
Look for no helpe henceforth from me nor mine,  
Shift as thou wilt.

Turned out by Goneril, Leir's lines are fine pathos:

This punishment my heavy sins deserve,  
And more than this ten thousand thousand times;  
Else aged Leir them could never find  
Cruel to him, to whom he hath been kind.

The play has a happy ending, Leir saying:

Ah, my Cordelia, now I call to mind,  
The modest answer, which I took unkind;  
But now I see I am no whit beguil'd  
Thou lovest me dearly, and as ought a child.

We have thus examined a number of the most representative roles that Edward Alleyn played. Dominantly they are roles of the "heavy" type: Barabas, Faustus, Tamberlane, Orlando, Furioso, Hieronimo. In all of them judicious "restraint" would be difficult. Innately, the parts are so extreme as almost to "act themselves" into ranting vociferation. The Hamlet and Lear are from crude old plays; the characters lack the complexity and the high spirituality of their "descendants." The spectacular magic of Bacon and Kent would not require a particularly superior level of acting, nor would the bombastic Edgar or the preaching Sempronio. The lighter touch would, of course, be essential for Prince Harry and for much of Robin Hood. Alleyn must have possessed this quality in his acting.

Our study of the roles played by Richard Burbage in the competing Lord Chamberlain's Company need be only brief since T. W. Baldwin has presented nearly all aspects of the subject in his author-

<sup>12</sup> Printed, 1605.

itative work entitled *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*.<sup>13</sup> We need only recall the familiar situations and an occasional line to make our survey. Beaumont and Fletcher plays were very popular with the company and its patrons. One of the most representative of these plays is *Philaster, or Love Lies A-Bleeding*. Burbage would play Philaster, the romantic hero, who "lives so virtuously" and the people admire "the bravery of his mind." But he thinks Arethusa, whom he loves and who loves him, is disloyal. Distractedly he cries:

Some far place,  
Where never womankind durst set her foot,  
For bursting with her poisons, must I seek,  
And live to curse you:  
There dig a cave and preach to birds and beasts,  
What woman is and help to save them from you.  
How Heav'n is in your eyes, but in your hearts,  
More hell than hell has: How your tongues,  
like scorpions,  
Both heal and poison.

But in the end all is understood and Philaster says ecstatically:

Arethusa, take  
My soul into thy breast, that would be gone with joy.

Ben Jonson also wrote for the Chamberlain's Men. Burbage is supposed to have played *Brainworm* in *Every Man in his Humour*. This is an eccentric part requiring great versatility: Brainworm has disguises galore and all perfect, so that his master Knowell compliments him:

Is it possible! or that thou should'st disguise thy language so that I should not know thee?

He had already fooled them all as an old soldier who had served: in all the late wars of Bohemia, Hungaria, Dalmatia, Poland, where not, sir? I was twice shot at the taking of Aleppo, once at the relief of Vienna; I have been . . . a gentleman-slave in the gallies thrice, where I was most dangerously shot through the head, through both thighs,

In *Every Man Out of his Humour* Baldwin gives Burbage the part of *Fastidious Brisk*, an especially eccentric part requiring a very complete impersonation. This is Jonson's own description of the character:

A neat, spruce, affecting courtier, one that wears clothes well and in

<sup>13</sup> Princeton U. Press, 1927.



fashion; practiseth by his glass how to salute, speaks good remnants; swears tersely and with variety; cares not what lady's favour he belies, or great man's familiarity.

The part of *Mosca* in Jonson's *Volpone or the Fox* is always associated with Burbage. *Mosca* is the parasite of *Volpone* helping his master to get his will, crafty, mocking, a double dealer, immensely relishing his trickery.

This brings us to some of the Shakespearian roles attributed to Richard Burbage. *Biron* of *Love's Labour Lost* must be, above all, youthful. He must be handsome, graceful, charming, gay, he must have a pleasing voice, and be quick at repartee. He, even he, falls in love and all vows come to naught:

O,—and I, forsooth, in love! I that have been love's whip,  
A very beadle to a humorous sigh;  
A critic, nay, a night-watch constable;  
A domineering pedant o'er the Boy, . . .  
And I to be a corporal of his field,  
And wear his colours like a tumbler's hoop!  
What! I love! I sue! I seek a wife! . . .  
Well, I will love, write, sigh, pray, sue, and groan.

There is no need to quote from *Romeo*; the familiar lines sound in our ears. Burbage would need to look young and handsome, (let us hope he did not try to play it in his later life when he became somewhat portly). The tenderness, the pathos, the sweetness of the romance, the exquisite lyrical poetry, these would make the utmost exacting demands upon the actor.

Nor need we dwell upon the part of the Prince in *Henry IV*. The requirements of the role of the happy-go-lucky Harry, lively and boisterous among his associates, are obvious enough. In *Hal*, Burbage and Alleyn played very similar roles, although the latter's *Hal* did not have the great advantage of the presence of Sir John Falstaff. In the latter section of *Henry IV*, part two, *Hal* becomes king and Burbage, as Alleyn, had to be transformed into *Henry V*. One quotation is, perhaps, sufficient to reveal the powerful figure of the soldier hero king:

Once more upon the breach, dear friends, once more;  
And close the wall up with our English dead!  
In peace there's nothing so becomes a man  
As modest stillness and humility:  
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,  
Then imitate the action of the tiger . . .

*Richard III* is a part that actors, particularly of the old school, enjoy playing. From:

Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by this son of York, . . .  
since I cannot prove a lover  
I am determined to prove a villain.

until he is slain, Richard completely dominates the scene and all the other characters. In the midst of a series of murders, he makes love to Anne with supreme confidence. He enormously enjoys his craft and villainy:

Off with his head  
So much for Buckingham.

It is a glorious villain, and Burbage, (there is some evidence that Alleyn also played "Crook Back" in an earlier version of the play), probably acted him with keen zest.

*Brutus* in *Julius Caesar* is a part to try any actor's mettle. The nobility of the man, the vast dignity, the calmness, the idealism, the lofty patriotism in the midst of the petty politicians surrounding him, these are attributes difficult to convey to an audience without becoming so monotonous as to be lifeless.

Burbage came to the four greatest tragic roles at the peak of his career, when his powers were at their best. Surely superior abilities were needed for those portrayals. In *Othello* he needed to show the supreme pathos of having a noble nature overthrown by villainy. There is a grand simplicity in the character that no "ranter" could portray. Collier<sup>14</sup> cites the mention of Burbage in the part in an Elegy:

But let me not forget one chiefest part  
Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart,  
The griev'd Moor, made jealous by a slave,  
Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,  
Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.

*Macbeth*, whether Burbage played him as a "bowery ruffian" a criminal on a grand scale, or as a sensitive nature done to death by forces beyond his control, (I venture the guess that the former was Burbage interpretation), is a grand figure, filling the stage, the events of the play revolving about him, almost whirling about him. The Alleyn version of *Lear*<sup>15</sup> may well have been the play on which

<sup>14</sup> Collier, J. P., *History of Dramatic Poesy*, V. III.

<sup>15</sup> *King Lear and His Three Daughters*, authorship doubtful, possibly Kyd or Lodge.

Shakespeare "operated" to make of it a tragedy of "sublime effectiveness." The extreme paucity of *Lears* on the stage in recent years (where are they, particularly in America?) is a tribute to the difficulty of the part. It may be that it is humanly impossible to convey, adequately, the suffering and the pathos of such lines as:

I tax not you, you elements with unkindness;  
I never gave you kingdom, call'd you children,  
You owe me no subscription. . . .

(To Cordelia):

Pray, do not mock me;  
I am a very foolish, fond, old man,  
Fourscore and upward, not an hour more nor less,  
And to deal plainly,  
I fear I am not in my perfect mind.

Burbage tried it, however, (perhaps he had more courage than the actor of today), and, so far as we know, was successful in the part. He must be an actor of high calibre indeed who can play *Lear*.

To play *Hamlet* has been the goal of all outstanding actors. It seems reasonable to suppose that Shakespeare, being closely associated with Burbage, would certainly impart to him something of his own conception of *Hamlet* and the other roles. Tradition has it that Shakespeare also gave Joseph Taylor (Burbage's successor) his views as to the manner in which the character should be played; Sir William Davenant, who saw Taylor, told Thomas Betterton about it, and Colley Cibber described Betterton's method in a volume that has come down to the present. The great variety of interpretations through the centuries would scarcely bear out such a chain. Whatever Burbage may have done with the part, (in all probability he "played up" the madness, for the Elizabethan audiences loved lunatics!), he could hardly ignore the complexity of the character, the many facets shown. The dominant madness, the awful loneliness, the tenderness, the beauty of spirit, the poetry of his nature, at times the geniality and gayety, at times the passionate utterance, such factors would have to be conveyed to the audience in the impersonation of *Hamlet*.

We have, then, concluded a survey of numerous roles played by the rival actors. The chances are that the styles of acting presented by both Alleyn and Burbage would seem to us today quite bombastic, flamboyant, ranting. Not until Garrick do we have the break with the old school of declamatory acting (led by Quin), and the introduction of the so-called "natural" delivery of the lines. Unques-

tionably, even Garrick's "naturalness" would appear artificial and stiff to modern critics.

We have noted considerable similarity in the parts played by Alleyn and Burbage, we have examined roles of both actors which would require marked and versatile impersonative ability, if done well. While we still cannot state exactly how they did the parts, we have seen the *uniform superiority of material* at the command of Burbage. Shakespeare, of the Chamberlain's Men, was the great master at "improving" the old plays. As we have demonstrated, he took the old plays, such as Alleyn's *Leir*, and made them over, strengthening the characters, and often enormously elevating the style of composition. There is decidedly less of the crudeness which leads so easily to over acting. Even granting that the two men were on practically the same level in ability, would not this superiority in material, this higher imaginativeness, spirituality, and general intelligence of the media, arouse a more elevated type of acting? This hypothesis, together with the bits of evidence we have of Alleyn's tendency to "strut" and to exaggerate the "scowling and thundering," and the proneness of his company to cater to the public taste for the spectacular, leads one to the opinion that Richard Burbage was the greater actor of the two.

# A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE ORGANIC SPEECH MECHANISM ABNORMALITIES ASSO- CIATED WITH CLEFT PALATE\*

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CASUAL observations and occasional clinical evidence have seemed to indicate to some that there were often other abnormalities of the speech mechanism accompanying cleft palates. It is important to know whether or not abnormalities of the speech mechanism other than the cleft palate can be expected in the cleft palate case. This study was undertaken to determine whether or not such abnormalities of the speech mechanism usually do exist, or whether they are present only occasionally. This study is exploratory, and it is intended to be preliminary to the above stated problem. The findings herein should be significant to the work of the speech pathologist and anyone else concerned about the speech of the cleft palate case. Possibly the cleft palate alone is the cause of cleft palate speech; this seems to be the working assumption of most of the workers in the field of speech correction.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it is possible to assume that other abnormal parts may also influence the type of speech in the cleft palate case. This study is an attempt to determine from examination of cleft palate cases which of these assumptions more nearly fits most cases.

There are numerous references in the literature to abnormalities associated with cleft palate, chief of which is harelip. Most of the other associated abnormalities mentioned are those which involve parts not concerned with speech such as club feet, supernumerary digits, deformed fingers and toes, hydrocephalus, microcephalus,

\*This study is a part of the University of Minnesota Speech Clinic program of research under the direction of Professor Bryng Bryngelson. The complete original data are on file at the Clinic.

<sup>1</sup> See among others:

Ward, Ida C. *Defects of Speech* (E. P. Dutton & Co., 1923), 48-62.

West, Kennedy and Carr. *The Rehabilitation of Speech* (Harpers, 1937), 268-272.

Koepp-Baker, H. *A Handbook of Clinical Speech* (Edwards Brothers, Inc.), II, 1936, 237-243.

hernia, deformities of the eyes.<sup>2</sup> Davis finds associated anomalies in 25 per cent of cleft palate cases.<sup>3</sup> Beatty writes that cleft palate frequently co-exists with other remote developmental deformities.<sup>4</sup> Ritchie says, "The case of multiple clefts of face and jaw in my series is one which along with the reports of others collected from the literature indicates the many possibilities of failure in embryonal growth and supports the statement that harelip and cleft palate are only a part of a group of congenital deformities in this area."<sup>5</sup> He also finds 216 cases out of 350 or 61.7 per cent have clefts of the alveolar process.<sup>6</sup>

Other studies have concerned themselves with anatomical parts and their relation to speech in the cleft palate case. Most of these are from the medical literature and usually are written from the point of view of the type of operation performed.

The fact that a number of studies show that even after successful surgical operations the case maintains or develops cleft palate speech<sup>7</sup> may indicate that there is something else at work aside from the possible functioning or lack of functioning of the palate.

Some investigators have pointed out other defects of the speech mechanism which they believe to have a deleterious effect on speech. Ritchie, in his study correlating speech defects with the anatomical results of operations, discusses the effect on speech of abnormal contour of the teeth, holes posterior to the alveolar process, large holes in midportion of hard palate, holes in soft palate, and distorted nasal cavities.<sup>8</sup> G. Hudson-Makuen holds that there is a substitution of other structures, such as the epiglottis or the ventricular folds, in the absence of the functioning of the palate causing faulty development of musculatures including faulty development of nerve cen-

<sup>2</sup> Brophy, T. W. *Cleft Lip and Palate*. (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co.), 1923, 118.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Owens, Neal. *Southern Medical Journal*. XXXI (September, 1938), 959-968.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Ritchie, H. P. "Congenital Clefts of the Face and Jaws." *Archives of Surgery*. XXVIII (April, 1934), 617-658.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Quotes by Ritchie, W. P. "Cleft Palate." *Archives of Surgery*, XXXV (September, 1937), 548. Whitehead, Bond, Ranze and Sultan, Berry, Brown, Blakeway, Stahl, Turner, Burdick.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*



ters supplying them. He says further that pitch changes are dependent on the function of the palatopharyngeal muscle.<sup>9</sup>

Other studies discuss the importance of the role of other parts of the speech mechanism in the function of speech.<sup>10</sup>

Some of the literature discusses the effect of cleft palate on other functions and parts of the body, some of which relate directly to the speech mechanism. Beatty writes that the same factor that causes cleft palate may also cause irregular dentition by interfering with the proper formation of tooth buds.<sup>11</sup> Such references serve to show that other abnormalities of the speech mechanism do exist in at least some cleft palate cases.

A great deal has been written on abnormalities of the mouth cavity not in relation to cleft palate but which is pertinent here. One of the predisposing causes for maloccluded teeth and attendant deformities listed by McCoy is congenital defects.<sup>12</sup> Since the cleft palate child often has the problem of nutrition,<sup>13, 14, 15</sup> other abnormalities may be justly suspected. According to Simmonds one of the predisposing causes to maloccluded teeth is malnutrition.<sup>16</sup> The effect on the mouth cavity of an abnormal labial frenum is pointed out by Parker.<sup>17</sup> This defect is present in some cleft palate cases due to harelip. The effect of malocclusion of the shape of the jaw is discussed by Nord,<sup>18</sup> the effect of an abnormal tongue position on the type of bite and the effect of certain dental conditions on the rela-

<sup>9</sup> Brophy, T. W. *op. cit.*, 299.

<sup>10</sup> Blair, V. P., and Brown, J. B. "The Dieffenbach-Warren Operation for Closure of Congenital Cleft Palate." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXII (August, 1937), 853.

<sup>11</sup> Beatty, H. B. "Some Remarks on Cleft Palate and Lip." *West Virginia Medical Journal* (November, 1936), 514.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Simmonds, Nina. "One Factor in Orthodontics." *International Journal of Orthodontia* (December, 1937), 1169.

<sup>13</sup> Stumpf, F. W. "Cleft Lip and Cleft Palate Correction." *Journal of the American Dental Association*. XXV, 196.

<sup>14</sup> Brophy, T. W., *op. cit.*, 114.

<sup>15</sup> Wardill, C. P. "Cleft Palate." *The Lancet*. CCXXVIII (June 22, 1935), 1435.

<sup>16</sup> Simmonds, Nina. "Nutrition—One Factor in Orthodontics." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXIII (December, 1937), 1169.

<sup>17</sup> Parker, D. B. "Surgical Consideration of Abnormal Frena." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXIII (November, 1937), 1141-1148.

<sup>18</sup> Nord, Ch. F. L. "Treatment of Neglected Cases and Early Treatment." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXIII (August, 1937), 800-804.

tion of the arches by Moore,<sup>19</sup> and the possible effect of the deformity of the upper jaw on the type of bite by Blair and Ivy.<sup>20</sup>

Differences have been found in the cleft palate case as compared with the normal in certain measurements such as skull and jaw measurements by Peyton among others.<sup>21</sup> Others find differences in teeth condition of cases with abnormal dental occlusion and some differences in head dimensions between those with abnormal and normal dental occlusion.<sup>22</sup>

Practically all of the literature dealing with abnormalities associated with cleft palate is from medical, orthodontic, and surgical sources. Naturally, this literature for the most part has not been written from the point of view of speech. The literature of speech correction dealing with cleft palate stresses the function of the palate to the exclusion of nearly all other factors. But as has been shown above, medical research has discovered other accompanying abnormalities. It is conceivable, then, that some of these associated abnormalities of the speech mechanism may relate to the speech of the cleft palate case. The speech clinician needs such knowledge (negative or positive) for his work in the rehabilitation of cleft palate speech.

#### PROCEDURE AND SUBJECTS

Thirty-three subjects with cleft palates were furnished chiefly by the University of Minnesota Dental Clinic, and also by the University Hospital Pediatrics Clinic, Surgery Clinic, and University of Minnesota Speech Clinic. It was judged not necessary to restrict the sample in any way since other studies have shown the irregularity and unpredictability of the incidence of cleft palate. Beatty writes that cleft palates "may occur anywhere among any people and at any time and have done so throughout history."<sup>23</sup> Of the

<sup>19</sup> Moore, G. R. "Crossed Bite Associated with Anchyloglossia." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXII (January, 1936), 49.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Hoffman, H. F. "Open Bite." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXIII (October, 1937), 964.

<sup>21</sup> Peyton, Wm. T. "The Dimensions and Growth of the Palate in the Normal Infant and in the Infant with Gross Maldevelopment of the Upper Lip and Palate." *Archives of Surgery*. XXII (May, 1931), 704-737.

<sup>22</sup> Goldstein, M. S., and Stanton, F. L. "Facial Growth in Relation to Dental Occlusion." *International Journal of Orthodontia*. XXIII (1937), 859-891.

<sup>23</sup> Beatty, H. B. *op. cit.*, 501.

subjects used in this study, eighteen were males and fifteen were females. The age range was six to forty-two years. Thirty-two of the thirty-three cases were post-operative. The number of operations ranged from 0 to 14, with a median of 3.

There are a number of different ways of classifying cleft palates. The Ritchie-Davis classification was selected because it is often used in medical literature and it seems to be generally accepted by the medical profession. Briefly, Group I signifies a cleft lip, unilateral, bilateral, or median. Group II includes clefts of the soft palate or hard palate, or both. Group III is generally used to mean a cleft of the lip, palate, and alveolar process, any of which may be complete or incomplete, unilateral, bilateral, or median.<sup>24</sup> In this series there were no cases classified as Group I, but a cleft lip may be associated with Group II or Group III.

#### *Procedure*

An examination of the peripheral speech structures was made. The structures involved in this examination are those considered by most speech correctionists to function during speech, affecting either the voice quality or the articulation of sounds. The materials employed were tongue depressors and a small flashlight.

The first structure observed in each case was the lips. The length of the labial frenum was recorded if it was regarded as abnormal. The activity of the lips was tested by requesting the subject to say ee—oo, [i:] [u:]. The experimenter spoke the sounds exaggerating her lip position and then signalled for the subject to imitate her. Throughout the entire examination whenever the subject spoke the lip activity was watched. The behavior of both lips was recorded as good or poor.

The second speech structure noted was the tongue. The size was judged by the examiner and recorded. Any abnormality of the frenum was noted. The motility of the tongue was tested by the subject's ability to move his tongue in and out of his mouth as fast as he could against a tongue depressor. The flexibility of the tongue was tested by the subject's ability to point his tongue up toward his nose, down toward his chin, and up toward either cheek.

The purpose of observing the functioning of the organs was to ascertain the condition of the anatomic parts, not to discover motor disability. The activity shown usually indicated whether or not the anatomic part was tense, relaxed, or normal.

<sup>24</sup> Ritchie, H. P. *op. cit.*, 617-619.

The condition of the teeth was described by the amount of decay, dental work, type of occlusion, gaps in the teeth, and missing and short teeth. Whether or not the missing teeth were due to extraction was checked.

The size of the jaw was observed and described. By observing the jaw when open it was possible to compare the relative sizes of the upper and lower dental arches. By observing the jaw when the mouth was closed it was possible to note the development of the maxilla and the protrusion or retrusion of the mandible. The activity of the jaws was tested by requesting subjects to speak ah — oo, [ɑ:] [u:]. The subject imitated the experimenter as above for lip activity. This activity was observed to be easy or effortful, partial or normal.

The soft palate was described as to size and activity, and whether or not the entire soft palate moved or only a part of it. Activity of the soft palate was tested by observing the subject phonate ah, [ɑ:].

The uvula was described as to shape, size, and condition.

The faucial arch was described according to size, and the activity of the pillars of fauces was observed during the phonation of ah, [ɑ:].

The condition of the pharynx was described including inflammation, excrescence, post-nasal drip, and granulation. The activity of the pharyngosphincter muscle was checked. Adenoidal condition was obtained from hospital records and interview of the case.

Nasal examination involved observation of the septum, the nares, obstructions in the nasal passages, and whether or not the subject was a mouth breather. The alae were observed to be normal or abnormal, and any abnormality was described. The condition of the nose tip was also observed, especially whether or not it was depressed, shortened, or elongated. A note was made on the condition of the columella when it was abnormal.

Each anatomic part was rated a three-point scale as to the likelihood that its condition might have an adverse effect on speech. In some cases the part was rated as to anatomical condition as well as activity and size. A rating of 1 was given if it appeared to the examiner that the condition, activity, or size of the part in question would have no adverse effect on speech. A rating of 2 was given if it seemed possible that there would be an adverse effect on speech, and a rating of 3 if it seemed almost certain that there would be such an effect. These ratings were standardized as much as possible. Ratings of 3 were given only when strikingly severe deviations were

found, and it is likely that errors in the ratings are in the direction of conservatism (low ratings).

## DATA

In Table I the cases are charted to show the number of structures with a rating of 2 and the number of structures with a rating of 3 for each case. An examination of this table reveals that there are only four cases with no structures rated 3 (almost certain adverse effect on speech). These cases had from seven to fifteen structures

TABLE I  
PLOT SHOWING NUMBER OF STRUCTURES RATED 2 AND 3 FOR EACH SUBJECT  
Rating of 3 (Almost certain adverse effect on speech)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
8	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..
9	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
11	..	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..
13	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
15	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
16	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

Rating of 2 (Probable adverse effect on speech)

rated 2 (possible adverse effect). It will be seen, for example, that one case had eight anatomical parts judged as having an almost certain adverse effect on speech, and ten structures judged as having a possible adverse effect on speech. Two subjects had eighteen structures rated 2 which is the largest number so rated for any individual case. There are eleven cases, or one-third of the sample, having fourteen or more ratings of 2; and there are seven cases having five or more structures rated 3.

Table II shows the number and per cent of subjects having various numbers of structures rated 2 or 3, and expresses in a different way the data in Table I. Sixteen, or almost half of the thirty-three cases, have three or more structures judged to have an almost certain adverse effect on speech, and less than one out of eight cases had

no structure so rated. Only eight cases, or less than one-fourth of the sample, had fewer than nine structures with a rating of 2. No case had fewer than five structures rated 2. The median case had two ratings of 3 and twelve ratings of 2.

In Table III data are presented showing the number of cases having ratings of 2 or 3 for each anatomical structure. It will be seen that in twenty-five of the thirty-three cases lip size was rated as having a possible or almost certain adverse effect on speech. In fourteen cases there was a sufficient degree of malocclusion to warrant the rating 3, and in an equal number of cases a rating of 2 was given.

Of special interest are the ratings on soft palate, since this is

TABLE II  
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CASES HAVING VARYING NUMBERS  
OF STRUCTURES RATES AS 2 AND 3

		Number of Structures									
Rating	Cases	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
3	No.	4	6	7	6	3	2	4	..	1	
Certain	%	12.12	18.18	21.21	18.18	9.09	6.06	12.12	.....	3.03	
2	No.	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	4	
Possible	%	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.03	.....	9.09	12.12	

		Number of Structures									
Rating	Cases	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
3	No.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Certain	%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	No.	1	1	5	5	3	5	3	1	..	1
Possible	%	3.03	3.03	15.15	15.15	9.09	15.15	9.09	3.03	.....	3.03

Median number of structures rated 3 is 2.  
Median number of structures rated 2 is 1.

the structure to which almost undivided attention has been given in the consideration of cleft palate cases. A total of twenty-six cases received ratings of 2 or 3 on size of structure, of which thirteen were rated 2 and thirteen 3. (These were, of course, postoperative cases.) None of the aspects of soft palate structure or functioning—size, activity, and distance from mesopharynx—constituted a problem in every case examined. About seventy-five per cent of the cases had one or more nasal conditions judged to have a possible effect on speech. The condition of the tongue had a probable effect on speech in more than half the cases.

Speech examinations were given to some of the cases. A summary of some of these examinations is given here. Although the chief interest of this study is in the anatomical parts *per se*, these are important to the speech correctionist chiefly in relation to the



TABLE III  
NUMBER OF CASES HAVING RATINGS OF 2 AND 3 FOR SIZE,  
ACTIVITY, CONDITION, ETC. OF VARIOUS STRUCTURES

	Rating	
	2	3
Lips		
Size (lower lip, upper lip, or both) .....	10	15
Activity (lower lip, upper lip, or both) .....	16	2
Tongue		
Size .....	6	2
Activity .....	12	2
Teeth		
Teeth condition (plates or unusual condition) .....	4	0
Gaps (missing teeth) .....	29	1
Short teeth .....	12	0
Type of occlusion .....	14	14
Jaw		
Size .....	10	0
Activity .....	10	1
Malrelation of jaws .....	22	2
Soft Palate		
Size .....	13	13
Activity .....	9	11
Distance from mesopharynx .....	22	4
Hard Palate		
Height .....	7	0
Condition .....	7	0
Uvula		
Condition .....	25	0
Size .....	7	0
Palatine Arch		
Size .....	18	6
Activity .....	7	10
Pillars of fauces (unusual) .....	4	0
Pharynx		
Condition .....	12	0
Activity .....	15	8
Nose		
Septum .....	13	0
Nares .....	23	0
Ala .....	22	0
Nose tip .....	16	0
Mouth breather .....	7	0

speech they produce. The speech and the condition of anatomical parts is described below for each of six subjects. These cases were not chosen from the extremes where the speech would be found to be almost unintelligible or almost normal, but rather are representative of an average number and severity of anatomical abnormalities in this sample. Some of these speech examinations were taken from the records of the Pediatrics Clinic; they had been given by the speech pathologist in charge there.

Case 15: Female. 11 years. Group II B.<sup>25</sup> Speech: The labio-

<sup>25</sup> The following abbreviations will be used: B for bilateral cleft, C for complete cleft, R and L for right and left side respectively.

dental sounds ([f] [v]), the alveolar fricatives ([s] [z] [r]), and the alveolar lateral fricative ([l]) are defective; they are more distorted in the medial position and in consonant blends than in other positions. Substitutions are made of [w] for [r], [d] for [t], [ʃ] for [s], [t] for [θ], [ʃ] for [ʒ], [ʃ] for [tʃ], and [w] for [ʌ]. In many words the subject adds the bilabial fricatives ([w] [ʌ]) and the glottal stop. Omissions of the alveolar fricatives ([r] [l] [s]) are symptomatic. Voice quality is excessively nasal. (Speech record taken from the files of the Pediatrics Clinic.)

Eleven anatomic parts were rated 2 and two anatomic parts were rated 3 for this subject.

There was virtually no upper lip<sup>26</sup> and a scar extended from the border to the nostril. The labial sounds which were recorded as defective in the speech examination might easily be affected by the deficiency of the lip structure.

Tongue size being longer and wider than normal and the motility of the tongue being very poor, this organ was considered to have a possible effect on speech; the sounds which were defective seem to support this rating. The tongue was further described as retracted and bunched.

The poor alignment of the teeth, the frontal and lateral gaps in the teeth, and the overshot jaw may possibly account for the defective sibilant sounds. The medical record described the alveolar process as retracted and tipped forward.

Since the lower jaw is larger than the upper and its activity only partial, the condition of this part may influence the production of certain incorrect sounds.

The high palate shows ridges of scar tissue and the activity of the soft palate is confined to one side; the pillars of fauces show no activity. These conditions may change considerably the size and shape of the oral resonator.

The resonance of the voice may be impaired to some extent as the result of the large nares, the deflected alae, and the short, flattened nose tip in that these conditions may affect the type of resonance chamber normally provided by the nose. According to the medical record there was a suggestion of pus and granulations due to the blocking out of the maxillary sinuses, and the distorted nares are accompanied by defects in the floor of the nasal cavity. These

<sup>26</sup> The term *lip* refers to the vermilion border in this report.

medical impressions may be considered as further evidence of associated abnormality which might impair speech.

*Case 29:* Male. 9 years. Group III B. Speech: The plosives, palatals, and nasal sounds are defective in all positions. The substituting of voiceless for voiced sounds is common and also the [j] for [tʃ] and for [g]. Omissions of labial, labio-dental, interdental, and palatal sounds are characteristic of the speech of this subject. The voice quality is very nasal, and a great deal of breath escapes through the nose on certain non-nasal sounds. (Speech record taken from the files of Pediatrics Clinic.)

Eleven structures with a rating of 2 and three with a rating of 3 were given this subject.

Difficulty with labial sounds is probably enhanced by the poor activity of a very thin upper lip. The poor motility of the tongue and the frontal and lateral gaps in the teeth may help produce distortions in the sibilant sounds. The overshot jaw and its irregular shape may have a direct consequence in the speech of the subject.

The faulty voice quality may be a resultant of the short palate, the abnormal distance of it from the mesopharynx, and almost certainly from the absence of activity of the soft palate. The nasal examination reveals other possible contributing conditions, consisting of a deviated septum, a wide flaring left nostril, and an extremely flattened nose tip.

*Case 24:* Male. 8-3 years. Group III LC. Speech: The sibilant sounds ([s], [z], [ʃ], [tʃ], [ʒ], [dʒ]), the lingua-alveolar sounds, and many consonant blends are defective. Substitutions are made for some of the plosive sounds and for certain other voiced sounds; the velar stop is often employed in place of the proper sound. Voice quality is nasal. (Speech record taken from the files of Pediatrics Clinic.)

Fourteen of the anatomic parts were rated 2 and two were rated 3 on this subject.

The slight stiffness and deviation in the size of the lip structures may have effect on the production of such defective sounds as require lip movement.

The long narrow tongue which is in a retracted position was thought to have an almost certain adverse effect on speech, as was the overshot jaw, both of which appear to be related to certain sounds distorted by the subject, especially the consonant blends. The frontal and lateral gaps in the teeth and the partial activity of

the jaw may also affect the efficiency with which the speech organs make the transition from one sound to another.

The short soft palate, its slight activity, the low, flat, hard palate, the absence of the uvula, and the inflammation of the pharynx may so modify the resonance chambers as to render the voice quality abnormal. The extremely small left nare and flattened ala may also act to qualify the vocal resonance.

*Case 9:* Male. 6-6 years. Group III LC. Speech: Some of the sibilant, palatal, and alveolar fricative sounds along with the open vowels and certain consonant blends prove trying for this subject. Omissions and substitutions are made which include, besides the above sounds, nasal continuants and the velar stop. Voice quality is typical of that in cleft palate cases. (Speech record from Speech Pathologist in the Minneapolis Public Schools.)

Fifteen structures were rated 2 and three rated 3 in this case.

The short upper lip was considered as having almost certain effect on the speech. This was corroborated by the general indistinctness of the speech of this case.

The crossed bite of this subject was rated as having almost certain effect on speech which checks with the speech record showing difficulty with [l], [r] and the consonant blends. The gaps and short teeth in this case may possibly be influential in distorting the sibilant sounds.

The very short soft palate with its slight activity, the low, flat, irregular condition of the hard palate, the large faucial arch and the slight activity of the pillars of the fauces, the slight activity of the cushion of Passevant, accompanied by the fact that the size of the faucial arch appears to be abnormal may be considered as a syndrome almost certainly affecting the voice quality.

The left nare is so flattened that it seemed almost closed, and it is difficult for the subject to breathe through that nostril. The flattened nose tip and left ala, along with the mouth breathing of the case, are all possible factors which produce an excessively nasal and breathy voice quality.

*Case 6:* Female. 38-3 years. Group III LC. Speech: Defective sounds include [f], [v], [k], [g], [s], [z]. Omissions include sibilant and labio-dental sounds. There is an excessive escape of air through the nose for many different sounds, especially for the sibilants and for some labial sounds. Substitutions include a voiced velar stop for [k], [f] and [s]. Often this subject devoices the

vowel sounds and inserts nasal sounds before [p] and [b]. The outstanding deviations from the normal in the voice of this subject are the breathiness and the extreme low pitch. The rate of this subject's speech is abnormally rapid. (Speech examination made by experimenter.)

Two structures rated 3 and twelve rated 2 were noted in this case.

The thin and stiff upper lip of the subject may possibly augment the distortion of labial sounds which are shown in the speech examination to be defective. The long tongue and its poor flexibility, the plate containing eight upper teeth, the lateral gaps in the lower teeth, and malocclusion may all be considered as factors which possibly determine the defective speech of the subject. The sounds which these factors may specifically influence are the sibilants, the palatals, and the labio-dentals.

The very short soft palate with no activity may be said to almost certainly pervert speech, especially the voice quality and the articulation of velar sounds. The large faucial arch and the absence of the uvula may combine to eliminate some elements of normal utterance.

The depressed and shortened nasal tip and the difficulty of breathing through the nose may possibly add to the speech difficulties, since the nasal resonance chambers are thus affected.

*Case 33:* Male. 23 years. Group III LC. Speech: Defective sounds include [s], [z], [θ], [ð], [k], [d], [t], and the closed vowels. Substitutions of velar sounds, glottal stop, and nasal continuants for other sounds are manifested by this subject. Omissions include [l], [r], and [ʃ] sounds. The outstanding symptom of this speech defective is the excess escape of air through the nose on all sibilant sounds, some labials and labio-dentals; all the [s] blends are difficult for the subject. Certain vowels, especially the so-called closed ones, seem to have no oral quality whatsoever. (Speech examination made by the experimenter.)

The thin upper lip, the crossed bite, and the lateral gaps which produce the effect of an open bite at the sides may possibly cause variations in the speech. The smallness of the jaw and its partial activity and the fact that the lower jaw is wider than the upper may also contribute to his speech weaknesses.

The high-peaked arch and the very narrow hard palate may possibly affect speech, while the very short soft palate with no activity and an irregular condition in the anterior portion may almost cer-

tainly alter speech. The absence of the uvula, the large palatine arch, lack of activity in pillars of fauces, the post-nasal drip, and the absence of activity in the cushion of Passevant may account for the constant omission of air through the nose during speech.

The flat clogged left nare, the deviated septum, and the flattened left ala may contribute to the defective voice quality.

Four anatomic parts rated 3 and fifteen rated as 2 were the final impressions of this case.

#### DISCUSSION

As stated before, speech correctionists have worked on the assumption that the condition of the hard and soft palate or their absence was wholly responsible or nearly so for the type of speech found in the cleft palate cases. This assumption seemed justifiable since the soft palate is obviously the chief deformity.

The findings of this study suggest, however, that the problem of cleft palate speech is not so simple as previously thought, in that sufficient abnormality was herein discovered in the oral, pharyngeal, and nasal areas to require a change in the thinking of speech correctionists in this matter.

The frequency and the severity with which associated anomalies occur in cleft palate cases should be of vital concern to the speech clinician. Cobb and Lierle<sup>27</sup> and Greene<sup>28</sup> mention dental anomalies and malocclusion but do not attach much importance to these conditions. No other mention of associated anomalies in speech correction literature has been found by the writers. Not a single case in this series was without at least five structures rated as 2; and there were only four cases that did not have at least one structure rated 3. It is illuminating that there were no cases with no ratings of 2 or 3; in other words every cleft palate case had some abnormality in the peripheral speech mechanism not including the cleft palate. It should be emphasized that the median case had two structures rated as 3, and twelve structures rated as 2. In view of all these facts, it would seem that some of the basic assumptions in relation to the speech of the cleft palate case must be re-evaluated.

<sup>27</sup> Cobb, L. H., and Lierle, D. M. "An Analysis of the Speech Difficulties of 56 Cleft Palate and Harelip Cases." *Archives of Speech*, I (1936), 217-230.

<sup>28</sup> Greene, J. S. "Some Conclusions Derived from the Last Five Years' Work at the National Hospital for Speech Disorders." *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CLXXXIX (1923), 57-62.



There are often a number of defects of articulation in the cleft palate case which defy explanation on the basis of the abnormal palate alone. These articulatory defects may be related to some of the other abnormalities of the speech mechanism pointed out in this study. Certainly the entire speech mechanism of the cleft palate with all its deformities must be considered in determining the possible maladjustments which produce the defective sounds. In the majority of the cases in this sample the most severe deformities of the oral cavity associated with cleft palate were severe malocclusions of every type (mesiocclusion, distocclusion, neutrocclusion, crossed bite, open bite, etc.); irregular teeth conditions, especially those involving gaps in the teeth; and inadequate motility and flexibility of the tongue. In some cases abnormalities of the lips were more severe than the other abnormalities of the oral cavity; in others the condition of the pillars of fauces, and in still others the height and condition of the hard palate were more vital to the speech of the subject than the other oral abnormalities. Conditions of the pharynx were observed to be of equal magnitude in respect to severity of anomalies. On the whole, then, it is seen that the abnormalities vary from case to case, and that no generalization about them is possible.

Phoneticians are careful to point out that there is no one invariable way in which a speech sound must be formed or articulated. "... the exact adjustments to be made will depend, in the case of every speaker, upon the structure of his own organs of speech."<sup>29</sup> This would indicate the possibility of normal speech in the cleft palate case despite organic abnormalities provided that experimentation discovers for each case compensatory movements which make possible the production of correct or nearly correct sounds in a non-standard way. For this sort of therapy it is indeed important to realize the associated abnormalities in the speech mechanism aside from the cleft palate. It is possible that many cleft palate cases remain with badly mutilated speech because speech teachers have failed to realize that other abnormalities may be at least partially responsible for the defective utterances.

The speech of the cleft palate case ought to be thought of along the lines indicated by Barker<sup>30</sup> in analyzing a different speech defect

<sup>29</sup> Barrows, Sarah T., and Cordts, Anna D. *The Teacher's Book of Phonetics*. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926), 71.

<sup>30</sup> Barker, J. L. "Correcting the Mechanism Causing Most Foreign Brogue." *Journal of Speech Disorders*. I (March, 1936), 3.

—foreign accent. Barker claims that phonetic analysis of foreign dialect should be on the basis of dynamic rather than static phonetics because of the nature of English speech. He demonstrates that English pronunciation is continuous, transitions are made by glides, and preparation for each must be made with the pronunciation of the preceding sound. No small part of cleft palate speech may be related to the fact that the mechanism, defective in more than one way, has difficulty in going from one sound combination to the next.

The fact that cleft palate speech is often effortful brings in another factor which ought to be considered as part of the speech problem. The other abnormalities may account for this effortfulness to some extent, and any therapy should take them into account.

The cleft palate case is nearly always an articulatory as well as a voice case. Travis<sup>31</sup> points out that "... the articulatory case very frequently shows inferior ability in controlling the lips, tongue, jaw and diaphragm in voluntary, rhythmical movements not involved in speech." The experimenter's impressions while making the examinations bear out this statement as regards the lips, tongue, and jaw. According to Travis, "The examiner should get some estimate of the amount of reduction in the patient's motor control and coordination."<sup>32</sup> While it is undoubtedly true that the speech clinician notices the loss of function in the area of the soft palate, this study would indicate that Travis' dictum is a sound one in regard to other structures in the cleft palate case.

The disagreeable quality peculiar to cleft palate has been generally characterized as excessively nasal and breathy. The voice quality is thought to be due primarily to the malfunctioning of the soft palate and the palato-pharyngeal sphincter. Even after long periods of training the cleft palate case to re-direct the air stream through the oral cavity (standard method of treatment advocated by speech correctionists) in order to enhance oral resonance or at least decrease the nasality, the cleft palate voice quality frequently continues to be inferior and to possess a characteristic tone which marks his speech even to the layman as that of a cleft palate. While it has been possible for the speech clinician to succeed in greatly improving the voice quality in most cases, the exceeding difficulty of completing a cure has probably been a part of most clinicians' experience. Per-

<sup>31</sup> Travis, Lee Edward. *Speech Pathology* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1931), 223.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

haps some light has been thrown on this problem by the observation of a number of associated abnormalities in the speech mechanism, causing an abnormal condition of the resonance chambers. The effect of the abnormal conditions may cause differences in the facility with which the size and shape of the chambers is changed. "... the larynx, pharynx and buccal cavities are the ones subject to the most radical of those variations which might in any way be considered as vital in modifying tonal quality."<sup>33</sup> The abnormal conditions may be of such a kind as to change the nature of the surfaces of the resonance chambers in this series; observation of abnormalities which might so affect the voice included conditions of the pharyngeal cavity such as post-nasal drip, inflammation, granulations, etc.; nasal conditions such as infections, sinus trouble, etc.; and oral conditions such as scar tissue, holes in the palate, differences in the epithelium, and the tenseness, laxness, and texture of the membrane. It is quite possible that in postoperative cases the membrane surfaces will be different from that of the normal person. The importance to voice quality of the condition of the surfaces of the resonating cavities is described by Russell. He points out that hard surfaces, soft surfaces, and tension of the cavity walls all have an important modifying effect on voice quality.<sup>34</sup> Russell's work on surface effect theory seems especially pertinent to the problem of cleft palate vocal quality.

The data in this study show that the nasal passages of the cleft palate are sometimes partially obstructed, and in those cases with a harelip there are nearly always such abnormalities as deflected alae, clogged or flattened nares, deviated septum, short columnella, and mouth breathing. The inference to be drawn from these observations is that it is with effort and pressure that many cleft palate cases expel air through the nostrils. It is believed that the experience of speech correctionists would support this. These abnormal nasal passages may in part explain the peculiar vocal quality of the cleft palate and also the breathiness characteristic of the speech of most cleft palate cases, and might condition the distortions of certain sounds.

This study is exploratory and is preliminary to the related problems of cleft palate speech. It is, therefore, suggestive of research in several directions.

<sup>33</sup> Russell, G. Oscar. *Speech and Voice* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 204.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-76.

Although the problem of anacusis was not a part of this study, whenever a subject volunteered the information his hearing difficulty was noted. As a consequence of these notations and of incidental observations on other cleft palate cases the need of research is indicated on the incidence, severity, and cause of defective hearing associated with cleft palate.

A study to investigate the possibility of laryngeal abnormalities associated with cleft palate is naturally suggested by the present study.

A complete description of the organic structures accompanied by an exact phonological analysis of the elements of cleft palate speech would add considerably to our knowledge of the relationship of the organic structures to the type of speech. A great deal more might be learned about the quality of the cleft palate voice through studies which propose to discover the condition and type of surfaces in the resonating chambers of cleft palate cases. This research would take into careful account the principles of surface effect theory mentioned before.

A comprehensive program of research on cleft palate speech, embracing all the problems just mentioned, is now under way at the University of Minnesota.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Anatomical examinations were made of the peripheral speech structures of thirty-three cleft palate cases. Ratings of 1, 2, and 3 were assigned to the structures; a rating of 1 if the condition of the structures would have no adverse effect on speech, a rating of 2 if it seemed possible that there would be an adverse effect on speech, and a rating of 3 if it seemed almost certain that there would be such an effect.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the data:

1. There was no subject that had no abnormality of the speech mechanism associated with cleft palate.
2. Eighty-two per cent of the subjects had one or more structures having an almost certain adverse effect on speech.
3. The number of structures rated 3 for each subject ranged from zero to eight, and the number of structures rated 2 ranged from five to eighteen.
4. The median case had two structures rated 3 and twelve structures rated 2.
5. The presence of these abnormalities in such a large proportion

of cases justifies the conclusion that radical revision must be made in cleft palate therapy to include due consideration of these abnormalities.

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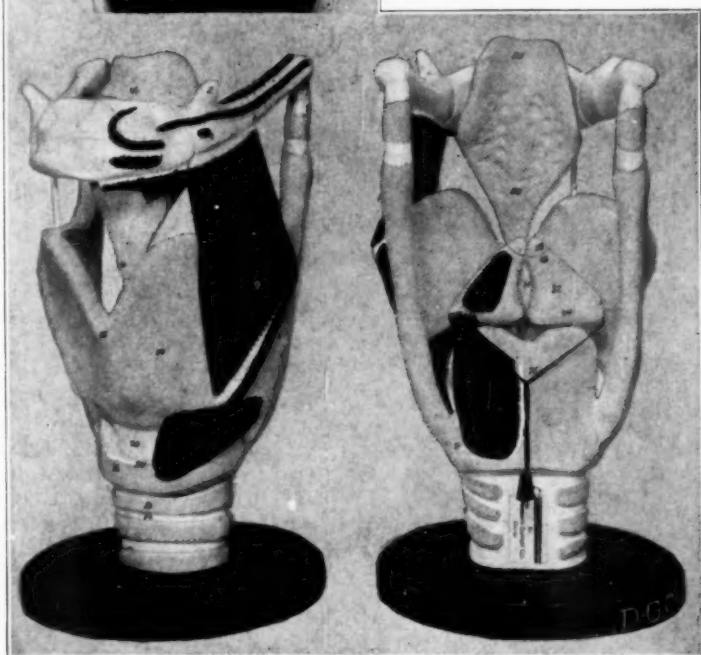
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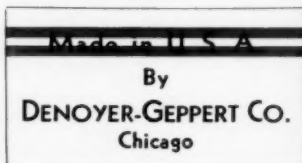
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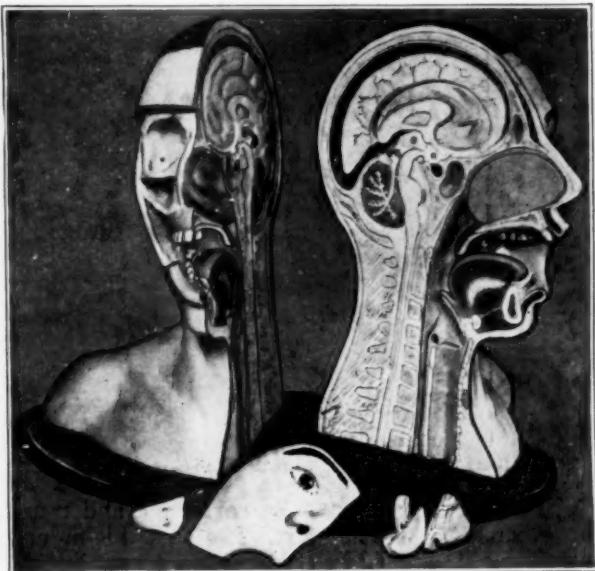
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